THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

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THE

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OF

AMERICA.

BOOK V.

WHEN Grijalva returned to Cuba, he found the armament deſtined to attempt the conqueſt of that rich country which he had diſcovered, almoſt complete. Not only ambition, but avarice, had urged Velaſquez to haſten his preparations; and having ſuch a proſpect of gratifying both, he had advanced conſiderable ſums out of his private fortune towards defraying the expence. At the ſame time, he exerted his influence as governor, in engaging the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the colony to undertake the ſervice *. At a time when the ſpirit of the Spaniſh nation was adventurous to exceſs, a number of ſoldiers, eager to embark in any daring enterpriſe, ſoon appeared. But it was not ſo eaſy to find a perſon qualified to take the command in an expedition of ſo much importance; and the character of Velaſquez, who had the right of nomination, greatly increaſed the difficulty

BOOK V.

1518. Preparations of Velaſquez for invading New Spain.

* See NOTE I.

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difficulty of the choice. Though of moſt aſpiring ambition, and not deſtitute of talents for government, he poſſeſſed neither ſuch courage, nor ſuch vigour and activity of mind, as to undertake in perſon the conduct of the armament which he was preparing. In this embarraſſing ſituation, he formed the chimerical ſcheme not only of atchieving great exploits by a deputy, but of ſecuring to himſelf the glory of conqueſts which were to be made by another. In the execution of this plan, he fondly aimed at reconciling contradictions. He was ſolicitous to chuſe a commander of intrepid reſolution, and of ſuperior abilities, becauſe he knew theſe to be requiſite in order to enſure ſucceſs; but, at the ſame time, from the jealouſy natural to little minds, he wiſhed him to be of a ſpirit ſo tame and obſequious, as to be entirely dependant on his will. But when he came to apply thoſe ideas in forming an opinion concerning the ſeveral officers who occurred to his thoughts as worthy of being entruſted with the command, he ſoon perceived that it was impoſſible to find ſuch incompatible qualities united in one character. Such as were diſtinguiſhed for courage and talents, were too high-ſpirited to be paſſive inſtruments in his hand. Thoſe who appeared more gentle and tractable, were deſtitute of capacity, and unequal to the charge. This augmented his perplexity and his fears. He deliberated long, and with much ſolicitude, and was ſtill wavering in his choice, when Amador de Lares, the royal treaſurer in Cuba, and Andres Duero, his own ſecretary, the two perſons in whom he chiefly confided, were encouraged by this irreſolution to propoſe a new candidate, and ſupported their recommendation with ſuch aſſiduity and addreſs, that, no leſs fatally for Velaſquez than happily for their country, it proved ſucceſsful *.

THE

* B. Diaz. c. 19. Gomara Cron. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iii. c. 11.

1518. He appoints Cortes commander.

THE man whom they pointed out to him was Fernando Cortes. He was born at Medellin, a ſmall town in Eſtremadura, in the year one thouſand four hundred and eighty-five, and deſcended from a family of noble blood, but of very moderate fortune. Being originally deſtined by his parents to the ſtudy of law, as the moſt likely method of bettering his condition, he was ſent early to the univerſity of Salamanca, where he imbibed ſome tincture of learning. But he was ſoon diſguſted with an academic life, which did not ſuit his ardent and reſtleſs genius, and retired to Medellin, where he gave himſelf up entirely to active ſports and martial exerciſes. At this period of life, he was ſo impetuous, ſo overbearing, and ſo diſſipated, that his father was glad to comply with his inclination, and ſend him abroad as an adventurer in arms. There were in that age two conſpicuous theatres, on which ſuch of the Spaniſh youth as courted military glory might diſplay their valour; one in Italy, under the command of the Great Captain; the other in the New World. Cortes preferred the former, but was prevented by indiſpoſition from embarking with a reinforcement of troops ſent to Naples. Upon this diſappointment he turned his views towards America, whither he was allured by the proſpect of the advantages which he might derive from the patronage of Ovando *, the governor of Hiſpaniola, who was his kinſman. When he landed at St. Domingo in one thouſand five hundred and four, his reception was ſuch as equalled his moſt ſanguine hopes, and he was employed by the governor in ſeveral honourable and lucrative ſtations. Theſe, however, did not ſatisfy his ambition; and in the year one thouſand five hundred and eleven, he obtained permiſſion to accompany Diego Velaſquez in his expedition to Cuba. In

* See NOTE II.

BOOK V. 1518.

this ſervice he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that, notwithſtanding ſome violent conteſts with Velaſquez, occaſioned by trivial events, unworthy of remembrance, he was at length taken into favour, and received an ample conceſſion of lands and of Indians, the recompence uſually beſtowed upon adventurers in the New World.†

THOUGH Cortes had not hitherto acted in high command, he had diſplayed ſuch qualities in ſeveral ſcenes of difficulty and danger, as raiſed univerſal expectation, and turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as one capable of performing great things. The turbulence of youth, as ſoon as he found objects and occupations ſuited to the ardour of his mind, gradually ſubſided, and ſettled into a habit of regular indefatigable activity. The impetuoſity of his temper, when he came to act with his equals, inſenſibly abated, by being kept under reſtraint, and mellowed into a cordial ſoldierly frankneſs. Theſe qualities were accompanied with calm prudence in concerting his ſchemes, with perſevering vigour in executing them, and with what is peculiar to ſuperior genius, the art of gaining the confidence and governing the minds of men. To all which were added the inferior accompliſhments that ſtrike the vulgar, and command their reſpect; a graceful perſon, a winning aſpect, extraordinary addreſs in martial exerciſes, and a conſtitution of ſuch vigour as to be capable of enduring any fatigue.

As ſoon as Cortes was mentioned to Velaſquez by his two confidents, he flattered himſelf that he had at length found what he had hitherto ſought in vain, a man with talents for command, but not an object of jealouſy. Neither the rank nor

† Gomara Cron. c. 1, 2, 3.

nor the fortune of Cortes, as he imagined, were ſuch that he could aſpire at independence. He had reaſon to believe, that by his own readineſs to bury ancient animoſities in oblivion, as well as his liberality in conferring ſeveral recent favours, he had already gained the good-will of Cortes, and hoped, by this new and unexpected mark of confidence, that he might attach him for ever to his ntereſt.

Soon becomes jealous of him. October 23.

CORTES receiving his commiſſion with the warmeſt expreſſions of reſpect and gratitude to the governor, immediately erected his ſtandard before his own houſe, appeared in a military dreſs, and aſſumed all the enſigns of his new dignity. His utmoſt influence and activity were exerted in perſuading many of his friends to engage in the ſervice, and in urging forward the preparations for the voyage. All his own funds, together with what money he could raiſe by mortgaging his lands and Indians, were expended in purchaſing military ſtores and proviſions, or in ſupplying the wants of ſuch of his officers as were unable to equip themſelves in a manner ſuited to their rank*. Inoffenſive, and even laudable as this conduct was, his diſappointed competitors were malicious enough to give it a turn to his diſadvantage: They repreſented him as aiming already, with little diſguiſe, at eſtabliſhing an independent authority over his troops, and endeavouring to ſecure their reſpect or love by his oſtentatious and intereſted liberality. They reminded Velaſquez of his former diſſenſions with the man in whom he now repoſed ſo much confidence, and foretold that Cortes would be more apt to avail himſelf of the power, which he was inconſiderately putting

* See NOTE III.

BOOK V. 1518.

putting in his hands, to avenge paſt injuries, than to requite late obligations. Theſe inſinuations made ſuch impreſſion upon the ſuſpicious mind of Velaſquez, that Cortes ſoon obſerved ſome ſymptoms of a growing alienation and diſtruſt in his behaviour, and was adviſed by his friends, Lares and Duero, to haſten his departure, before they ſhould become ſo confirmed, as to break out with open violence. Fully ſenſible of this danger, he urged forward his preparations with ſuch rapidity, that he ſet ſail from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighteenth of November, Velaſquez accompanying him to the ſhore, and taking leave of him with an appearance of perfect friendſhip and confidence, though he had ſecretly given it in charge to ſome of his officers, to keep a watchful eye upon every part of their commander's conduct *.

Endeavours to deprive him of his commiſſion,

CORTES proceeded to Trinidad, a ſmall ſettlement on the ſame ſide of the Iſland, where he was joined by ſeveral adventurers, and received a ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores, of which his ſtock was ſtill very incomplete. He had hardly left St. Jago, when the jealouſy which had been working in the breaſt of Velaſquez grew ſo violent that it was impoſſible to ſuppreſs it. The armament was no longer under his own eye and direction; and he felt that as his power over it ceaſed, that of Cortes became more abſolute. Imagination now aggravated every circumſtance, which had formerly excited ſuſpicion: the rivals of Cortes induſtriouſly threw in reflections which increaſed his fears; and with no leſs art than malice they called ſuperſtition to their aid, employing the predictions of an aſtrologer in order to complete the alarm. All theſe, by their united operation, produced

* Gomara Cron. c. 7. B. Diaz. c. 20.

duced the desired effect. Velasquez repented bitterly of his own imprudence, in having committed a trust of so much importance to a person whose fidelity appeared so doubtful, and hastily dispatched instructions to Trinidad, empowering Verdugo, the chief magistrate there, to deprive Cortes of his commission. But Cortes had already made such progress in gaining the esteem and confidence of his troops, that, finding officers as well as soldiers equally zealous to support his authority, he soothed or intimidated Verdugo, and was permitted to depart from Trinidad without molestation. 1518.

and to lay him under arrest.

FROM Trinidad Cortes sailed for Havana, in order to raise more soldiers, and to complete the victualling of his fleet. There several persons of distinction entered into the service, and engaged to supply what provisions were still wanting; but as it was necessary to allow them some time for performing what they had promised, Velasquez, sensible that he ought no longer to rely on a man of whom he had so openly discovered his distrust, availed himself of the interval, which this unavoidable delay afforded, in order to make one attempt more to wrest the command out of the hands of Cortes. He loudly complained of Verdugo's conduct, accusing him either of childish facility, or of manifest treachery, in suffering Cortes to escape from Trinidad. Anxious to guard against a second disappointment, he sent a person of confidence to the Havanna, with peremptory injunctions to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, to send him prisoner to St. Jago under a strong guard, and to countermand the departure of the armament until he should receive farther orders; he wrote likewise to the principal officers, requiring them

to

BOOK V. 1518.

to assist Barba in executing what he had given him in charge. But before the arrival of his messenger, a Franciscan friar of St. Jago had secretly conveyed an account of this interesting transaction to Bartholomew de Olmedo, a monk of the same order, who acted as chaplain to the expedition.

Cortes defeats his schemes, and continues his preparations.

CORTES, forewarned of the danger, had time to take precautions for his own safety. His first step was to find some pretext for removing from Havana Diego de Ordaz, an officer of great merit, but in whom, on account of his known attachment to Velasquez, he could not confide in this trying and delicate juncture. He gave him the command of a vessel, destined to take on board some provisions in a small harbour beyond Cape Antonio; and thus made sure of his absence, without seeming to suspect his fidelity. When he was gone, Cortes no longer concealed the intentions of Velasquez from his troops; and as officers and soldiers were equally impatient to set out on an expedition, in preparing for which most of them had expended all their fortune, they expressed their astonishment and indignation at that illiberal jealousy, to which the governor was about to sacrifice, not only the honour of their general, but all their sanguine hopes of glory and wealth. With one voice they intreated that he would not abandon the important station to which he had such a good title. They conjured him not to deprive them of a leader whom they followed with such well-founded confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood in maintaining his authority. Cortes was easily induced to comply with what he so ardently desired. He swore that he would never desert soldiers who had given him such a signal proof of their attachment, and promised

miſed inſtantly to conduct them to that rich country, which had been ſo long the object of their thoughts and wiſhes. This declaration was received with tranſports of military applauſe, accompanied with threats and imprecations againſt all who ſhould preſume to call in queſtion the juriſdiction of their general, or to obſtruct the execution of his deſigns. BOOK V. 1518.

The amount of his forces.

EVERY thing was now ready for their departure: but though this expedition was the united effort of the Spaniſh power in Cuba; though every ſettlement had contributed its quota of men and proviſions; though the governor had laid out conſiderable ſums, and each adventurer had exhauſted his ſtock, or ſtrained his credit, the poverty of the preparations was ſuch as muſt aſtoniſh the preſent age, and bore, indeed, no reſemblance to an armament deſtined for the conqueſt of a great empire. The fleet conſiſted of eleven veſſels, the largeſt of a hundred tons, which was dignified with the name of Admiral, three of ſeventy or eighty tons, and the reſt ſmall open barks. On board of theſe were ſix hundred and ſeventeen men; of which five hundred and eight belonged to the land ſervice, and a hundred and nine were ſeamen or artificers. The ſoldiers were divided into eleven companies, according to the number of the ſhips; to each of which Cortes appointed a captain, and committed to him the command of the veſſel while at ſea, and of the men when on ſhore *. As the uſe of fire-arms among the nations of Europe was hitherto confined to a few battalions of regularly-diſciplined infantry, only thirteen ſoldiers were armed with muſkets, thirty-two were croſs-bowmen, and the reſt had ſwords and ſpears.

Inſtead

* See NOTE IV.

BOOK V. 1518.

Inſtead of the uſual defenſive armour, which muſt have been cumberſome in a hot climate, they wore jackets, quilted with cotton, which experience had taught the Spaniards to be a ſufficient protection againſt the weapons of the Americans. They had only ſixteen horſes, ten ſmall field-pieces, and four falconets †.

Feb. 10. 1519. His departure from Cuba.

WITH this ſlender and ill-provided train did Cortes ſet ſail, to make war upon a monarch whoſe dominions were more extenſive than all the kingdoms ſubject to the Spaniſh crown. As religious enthuſiaſm always mingled with the ſpirit of adventure in the New World, and, by a combination ſtill more ſtrange, united with avarice, in prompting the Spaniards to all their enterpriſes, a large croſs was diſplayed in their ſtandards, with this inſcription, *Let us follow the croſs; for under this ſign we ſhall conquer.*

So powerfully were Cortes and his followers animated with both theſe paſſions that, no leſs eager to plunder the opulent country whither they were bound, than zealous to propagate the Chriſtian faith among its inhabitants, they ſet out, not with the ſolicitude natural to men going upon dangerous ſervice, but with that confidence which ariſes from ſecurity of ſucceſs, and certainty of the divine protection.

Touches at Cozumel;

As Cortes had determined to touch at every place which Grijalva had viſited, he ſteered directly towards the iſland of Cozumel; there he had the good fortune to redeem Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a priſoner among the Indians. This man was perfectly acquainted with a dialect of their language, underſtood

† B. Diaz. c. 19.

through a large extent of country, and 1519.
besides a considerable share of prudence March 4.
and dexterity, proved extremely useful as an interpreter. From Cozumel Cortes proceeded to the and at Tabasco.
river of Tabasco, in hopes of a reception as friendly as Grijalva had met with there, and of finding gold in the same abundance; but the disposition of the natives, from some unknown cause, was totally changed. After repeated endeavours to conciliate their good-will, he was constrained to have recourse to violence. Though the forces of the enemy were numerous, and advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed, with great slaughter, in several successive actions. The loss which they sustained, and still more the astonishment and terror excited by the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the king of Castile as their sovereign, and presented Cortes a supply of provisions, with a present of fine cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves.

Cortes continued his course to the westward, Arrives at St. Juan de Ulua.
keeping as near the shore as possible, in order to observe the country; but could discover no proper place for landing, until he arrived at St. Juan de Ulua. As he entered this harbour, a large April 2.
canoe full of people, among whom were two who seemed to be persons of distinction, approached his fleet with signs of peace and amity. They came on board without fear or distrust, and addressed him in a most respectful manner, but in a language altogether unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was

NOTE V.

Diaz, c. 41—56. Gomara Cron. c. 18—23. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iv. c. 11, &c.

BOOK V. 1519.

was in the utmoſt perplexity and diſtreſs, at an event of which he inſtantly foreſaw all the conſequences, and already felt the heſitation and uncertainty with which he ſhould carry on the great ſchemes which he meditated, if, in his tranſactions with the natives, he muſt depend entirely upon ſuch an imperfect, ambiguous, and conjectural mode of communication, as the uſe of ſigns. But he did not remain long in this embarraſſing ſituation: a fortunate accident extricated him, when his own ſagacity could have contributed little towards his relief. One of the female ſlaves, whom he had received from the cazique of Tabaſco, happened to be preſent at the firſt interview between Cortes and his new gueſts. She perceived his diſtreſs, as well as the confuſion of Aguilar; and as ſhe perfectly underſtood the Mexican language, ſhe explained what they ſaid in the Yucatan tongue, with which Aguilar was acquainted. This woman, known afterwards by the name of Donna Marina, and who makes a conſpicuous figure in the hiſtory of the New World, where great revolutions were brought about by ſmall cauſes and inconſiderable inſtruments, was born in one of the provinces of the Mexican empire. Having been carried off a captive by ſome hoſtile party, after a variety of adventures ſhe fell into the hands of the Tabaſcans, and had reſided long enough among them to acquire their language, without loſing the uſe of her own. Though it was both tedious and troubleſome to converſe by the intervention of two different interpreters, Cortes was ſo highly pleaſed with having diſcovered this method of carrying on ſome intercourſe with the people of a country into which he was determined to penetrate, that in the tranſports of his joy he conſidered it as a viſible interpoſition of Providence in his favour.*

He

* B. Diaz. c. 37, 38, 39. Gomara Cron. c. 25, 26. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 4.

1519.

He now learned, that the two perſons whom he had received on board his ſhip were deputies from Pilpatoe and Teutile; the one governor of that province, under a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma, and the other the commander of his forces there, and that they were ſent to inquire what his intentions were in viſiting their coaſt, and to offer him what aſſiſtance he might need, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, Cortes, ſtruck with the appearance of thoſe people, as well as the tenor of the meſſage, aſſured them, in reſpectful terms, that he approached their country with moſt friendly ſentiments, and came to propoſe matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and his kingdom, which he would unfold more fully, in perſon, to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for any anſwer, he landed his troops, his horſes and artillery; and having choſen proper ground, began to erect huts for his men, and to fortify his camp. The natives, inſtead of oppoſing the entrance of thoſe fatal gueſts into their country, aſſiſted them in all their operations, with an alacrity of which they had ere long good reaſon to repent.

Lands his troops.

Next day, Pilpatoe and Teutile entered the Spaniſh camp with a numerous retinue; and Cortes conſidering them as the miniſters of a great monarch, entitled to a degree of attention very different from that which the Spaniards were accuſtomed to pay to the petty Caziques, with whom they had intercourſe, received them with much formal ceremony. He informed them, that he came as ambaſſador from Don Carlos of Auſtria, king of Caſtile, the greateſt monarch of the eaſt, and was intruſted with propoſitions of ſuch moment, that he could impart them to none but

His firſt interview with the Mexicans.

BOOK V. 1519.

but the emperor Montezuma himſelf; and therefore required them to conduct him, without loſs of time, into the preſence of their maſter. The Mexican officers could not conceal their uneaſineſs at a requeſt, which they knew to be diſagreeable, and which, they foreſaw, might prove extremely embarraſſing to their ſovereign, whoſe mind had been filled with many diſquieting apprehenſions, ever ſince the former appearance of the Spaniards on his coaſts. But before they attempted to diſſuade Cortes from inſiſting on this demand, they endeavoured to conciliate his goodwill, by entreating him to accept of certain preſents, which, as humble ſlaves of Montezuma, they laid at his feet. Theſe were introduced with great parade, and conſiſted of fine cotton cloth, of plumes of various colours; and of ornaments of gold and ſilver to a conſiderable value; the workmanſhip of which appeared to be as curious as the materials were rich. The diſplay of theſe produced an effect very different from what the Mexicans intended. Inſtead of ſatisfying, it increaſed the avidity of the Spaniards, and rendered them ſo eager and impatient to become maſters of a country which abounded with ſuch precious productions, that Cortes could hardly liſten with patience to the arguments which Pilpatoe and Teutile employed to diſſuade him from viſiting the capital, and in a haughty determined tone he inſiſted on his demand, of being admitted to a perſonal audience of their ſovereign. During this interview, ſome painters, in the train of the Mexican chiefs, had been diligently employed in delineating, upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ſhips, the horſes, the artillery, the ſoldiers, and whatever elſe attracted their eyes, as ſingular. When Cortes obſerved this, and was informed that theſe pictures were to be ſent to Montezuma, in order to convey to him a more lively idea of the ſtrange and wonderful objects now preſented

to

to their view, than any words could communicate, he reſolved to render the repreſentation ſtill more animated and intereſting, by exhibiting ſuch a ſpectacle as might give both them and their monarch an awful impreſſion of the extraordinary proweſs of his followers, and the irreſiſtible force of their arms. The trumpets, by his order ſounded an alarm; the troops, in a moment, formed in order of battle, the infantry performed ſuch martial exerciſes as were beſt ſuited to diſplay the effect of their different weapons; the horſe, in various evolutions, gave a ſpecimen of their agility and ſtrength; the artillery, pointed towards the thick woods which ſurrounded the camp, made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on with that ſilent amazement, which is natural when the mind is ſtruck with objects, which are both awful and above its comprehenſion. But, at the exploſion of the cannon, many of them fled, ſome fell to the ground, and all were ſo much confounded at the ſight of men whoſe power ſo nearly reſembled that of the Gods, that Cortes found it difficult to compoſe and re-aſſure them. The painters had now many new ſubjects on which to exerciſe their art, and they put their fancy on the ſtretch in order to invent figures and characters to repreſent the extraordinary things which they had ſeen.

Negotiations with Montezuma.

MESSENGERS were immediately diſpatched to Montezuma with thoſe pictures, and a full account of every thing that had paſſed ſince the arrival of the Spaniards, and by them Cortes ſent a preſent of ſome European curioſities to Montezuma, which though of no great value, he believed would be acceptable on account of their novelty. The Mexican monarchs, in order to obtain early information of every occurrence in all the corners of their vaſt empire, had introduced a refinement in police,

BOOK V. 1519.

police, unknown, at that time, in Europe. They had couriers poſted at proper ſtations along the principal roads, and as theſe were trained to agility by a regular education, and relieved one another at moderate diſtances, they conveyed intelligence with ſurpriſing rapidity. Though the capital in which Montezuma reſided was above a hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan de Ulua, Cortes's preſents were carried thither, and an anſwer to his demands was received in a few days. The ſame officers who had hitherto treated with the Spaniards, were employed to deliver this anſwer; but as they knew how repugnant the determination of their maſter was to all the ſchemes and wiſhes of the Spaniſh commander, they would not venture to make it known until they had previouſly endeavoured to ſooth and mollify him.

His preſents.

For this purpoſe, they renewed the negociation by introducing a train of an hundred Indians loaded with preſents ſent to him by Montezuma. The magnificence of theſe was ſuch as became a great monarch, and far exceeded any idea which the Spaniards had hitherto formed of his wealth. They were placed upon mats ſpread on the ground, in ſuch order as ſhewed them to the greateſt advantage. Cortes and his officers viewed, with admiration, the various manufactures of the country, cotton ſtuffs ſo fine, and of ſuch delicate texture as to reſemble ſilk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects formed with feathers of different colours, diſpoſed and mingled with ſuch ſkill and elegance, as to rival the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation. But what chiefly attracted their eyes, were two large plates of a circular form, one of maſſive gold repreſenting the ſun, the other of ſilver, an emblem of the moon *. Theſe were accompanied

* See NOTE VI.

companied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold; and that nothing might be wanting which could give the Spaniards a complete idea of what the country afforded, with ſome boxes filled with pearls, precious ſtones, and grains of gold unwrought, as they had been found in the mines or rivers. Cortes received all theſe with an appearance of profound veneration for the monarch by whom they were beſtowed. But when the Mexicans, preſuming upon this, informed him that their maſter, though he deſired him to accept of what he had ſent as a token of his regard for the prince whom he repreſented, would not give his conſent that foreign troops ſhould approach nearer to his capital, or even allow them to continue longer in his dominions, Cortes declared, in a manner more reſolute and peremptory than formerly, that he muſt inſiſt on his firſt demand, as he could not without diſhonour, return to his own ſovereign, until he was admitted into the preſence of the prince whom he was appointed to viſit in his name. The Mexicans, aſtoniſhed at ſeeing any man dare to oppoſe that will, which they were accuſtomed to conſider as ſupreme and irreſiſtible, yet afraid of precipitating their country into an open rupture with ſuch formidable enemies, prevailed with Cortes to promiſe, that he would not move from his preſent camp, until the return of a meſſenger, whom they ſent to Montezuma far farther inſtructions *.

Forbids Cortes to approach his capital.

THE firmneſs with which Cortes adhered to his original propoſal ſhould, naturally, have brought the negociation between him and Montezuma to a ſpeedy iſſue, as it ſeemed to leave the Mexican monarch no choice, but either to receive him with

State of the Mexican empire at that period.

* B. Diaz. c. 39. Gomara Cron. c. 27. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 5, 6.

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confidence as a friend, or to oppoſe him openly as an enemy. The latter was what might have been expected from a haughty prince in poſſeſſion of extenſive power. The Mexican empire, at this period, was at a pitch of grandeur to which no ſociety ever attained in ſo ſhort a period. Though it had ſubſiſted only a hundred and thirty years, its dominion extended from the North to the South Sea, over territories ſtretching about five hundred leagues from eaſt to weſt, and more than two hundred from north to ſouth, comprehending provinces not inferior in fertility, population, and opulence, to any in the torrid zone. The people were warlike and enterpriſing; the authority of the monarch unbounded, and his revenues conſiderable. If, with the forces which might have been ſuddenly aſſembled in ſuch an empire, Montezuma had fallen upon the Spaniards while encamped on a barren unhealthy coaſt, unſupported by any ally, without a place of retreat, and deſtitute of proviſions, it is impoſſible, even with all the advantages of their ſuperior diſcipline and arms, that they could have ſtood the ſhock, and they muſt either have periſhed in ſuch an unequal conteſt, or have abandoned the enterpriſe.

Character of the monarch.

As the power of Montezuma enabled him to take this ſpirited part, his own diſpoſitions ſeemed naturally to prompt him to it. Of all the princes who had ſwayed the Mexican ſceptre, he was the moſt haughty, the moſt violent, and the moſt impatient of controul. His ſubjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unexampled rigour, but they were impreſſed with ſuch an opinion of his capacity as commanded their reſpect; and by many victories over the latter, he had ſpread far the dread of his arms, and had added ſeveral conſiderable provinces to his dominions. But though his

his talents might be ſuited to the tranſactions of a ſtate ſo imperfectly poliſhed as the Mexican empire, and ſufficient to conduct them while in their accuſtomed courſe, they were altogether inadequate to a conjuncture ſo extraordinary, and did not qualify him either to judge with the diſcernment, or to act with the deciſion, requiſite in ſuch a trying emergence. BOOK V. 1519.

His perplexity and terror upon the arrival of the Spaniards.

FROM the moment that the Spaniards appeared on his coaſt, he diſcovered ſymptoms of timidity and embarraſſment. Inſtead of taking ſuch reſolutions as the conſciouſneſs of his own power, or the memory of his former exploits, might have inſpired, he deliberated with an anxiety and heſitation which did not eſcape the notice of his meaneſt courtiers. The perplexity and diſcompoſure of Montezuma's mind upon this occaſion, as well as the general diſmay of his ſubjects, was not owing wholly to the impreſſion which the Spaniards had made by the novelty of their appearance and the terror of their arms; its origin may be traced up to a more remote ſource. There was an opinion, if we may believe the earlieſt and moſt authentic Spaniſh hiſtorians, almoſt univerſal among the Americans, that ſome dreadful calamity was impending over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders who ſhould come from regions towards the riſing ſun, to over-run and deſolate their country. Whether this diſquieting apprehenſion flowed from the memory of ſome natural calamity which had afflicted that part of the globe, and impreſſed the minds of the inhabitants with ſuperſtitious fears and forebodings, or whether it was an imagination accidentally ſuggeſted by the aſtoniſhment which the firſt ſight of a new race of men occaſioned, it is impoſſible to determine. But as the Mexicans were more prone to ſuperſtitionthan any people in the New World, they were more deeply

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affected with the appearance of the Spaniards, whom their credulity inſtantly repreſented as the inſtruments deſtined to bring about that fatal revolution which they dreaded. Under thoſe circumſtances, it ceaſes to be incredible that a handful of adventurers ſhould alarm the monarch of a great empire and all his ſubjects *.

Cortes continues to negotiate.

NOTWITHSTANDING the influence of this impreſſion, when the meſſenger arrived from the Spaniſh camp with an account, that Cortes, adhering to his original demand, refuſed to obey the order enjoining him to leave the country, Montezuma aſſumed ſome degree of reſolution, and in a tranſport of rage, natural to a fierce prince unaccuſtomed to meet with any oppoſition to his will, he threatened to ſacrifice thoſe preſumptuous ſtrangers to his gods. But his doubts and fears quickly returned, and inſtead of iſſuing orders to carry his threats into execution, again called his miniſters to confer and offer their advice. Feeble and temporiſing meaſures will always be the reſult when men aſſemble to deliberate in a ſituation where they ought to act. The Mexican council took no effectual meaſure for expelling ſuch troubleſome intruders, and were ſatisfied with iſſuing a more poſitive injunction, requiring them to leave the country; but this they prepoſterouſly accompanied with a preſent of ſuch value, as proved a freſh inducement to remain there.

Anxiety and apprehenſions of the Spaniards.

MEANWHILE, the Spaniards were not without ſolicitude or a variety of ſentiments, in deliberating concerning their own future conduct. From what they had already ſeen, many of them formed

* Cortes Relatione Secunda, ap Ramuſ. iii. 234, 235. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iii. c. 1. lib. v. c. 11. lib. vii. c. 6. Gomara Cron. c. 66. 92. 144.

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formed ſuch extravagant ideas concerning the opulence of the country, that, deſpiſing danger or hardſhips when they had in view treaſures which appeared to be inexhauſtible, they were eager to attempt the conqueſt. Others eſtimating the power of the Mexican empire by its wealth, and enumerating the various proofs which had occurred of its being under a well-regulated adminiſtration, contended that it would be an act of the wildeſt frenzy to attack ſuch a ſtate with a ſmall body of men, in want of proviſions, unconnected with any ally, and already enfeebled by the diſeaſes peculiar to the climate, and the loſs of ſeveral of their number †. Cortes ſecretly applauded the advocates for bold meaſures, and cheriſhed their romantic hopes, as ſuch ideas correſponded with his own, and favoured the execution of the ſchemes which he had formed. From the time that the ſuſpicions of Velaſquez broke out with open violence in his attempt to deprive him of the authority which he had conferred, he ſay the neceſſity of diſſolving a connection which would obſtruct and embarraſs all his operations, and watched for a proper opportunity of coming to a final rupture with him. Having this in view, he had laboured, by every art, to ſecure the eſteem and affection of his ſoldiers. With his abilities for command, it was eaſy to gain their eſteem; and his followers were quickly ſatisfied that they might rely, with perfect confidence, on the conduct and courage of their leader. Nor was it more difficult to acquire their affection. Among adventurers, nearly of the ſame rank, and ſerving at their own expence, the dignity of command did not elevate a general above mingling with thoſe who acted under him. Cortes availed himſelf of this freedom of intercouſe, to inſinuate himſelf into their favour, and

Schemes of Cortes.

† B. Diaz. c. 40.

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and by his affable manners, by well-timed acts of liberality to ſome, by inſpiring all with vaſt hopes, and by allowing them to trade privately with the natives *, he attached the greater part of his ſoldiers ſo firmly to himſelf, that they almoſt forgot that the armament had been fitted out by the authority, and at the expence of another.

His addreſs in carrying them on.

DURING thoſe intrigues, Teutile arrived with the preſent from Montezuma, and, together with it, delivered the ultimate order of that monarch to depart inſtantly out of his dominions; and when Cortes, inſtead of complying, renewed his requeſt of an audience, the Mexican turned from him abruptly, and quitted the camp with looks and geſtures which ſtrongly expreſſed his ſurpriſe and reſentment. Next morning none of the natives, who uſed to frequent the camp in great numbers, in order to barter with the ſoldiers, and bring in proviſions, appeared. All friendly correſpondence ſeemed now to be at an end, and it was expected every moment that hoſtilities would commence. This, though an event that might have been foreſeen, occaſioned a ſudden conſternation among the Spaniards, which emboldened the adherents of Velaſquez not only to murmur and cabal againſt their general, but to appoint one of their number to remonſtrate openly againſt his imprudence in attempting the conqueſt of a mighty empire with ſuch inadequate force, and to urge the neceſſity of returning to Cuba, in order to refit the fleet and augment the army. Diego de Ordaz, one of his principal officers, whom the malcontents charged with this commiſſion, delivered it with a ſoldiery freedom and bluntneſs, aſſuring him that he ſpoke the ſentiments of the whole army. Cortes liſtened to him without any

* See NOTE VII.

any appearance of emotion; and as he well knew the temper and wiſhes of his ſoldiers, and foreſaw how they would receive a propoſition fatal at once to all the ſplendid hopes and ſchemes which they had been forming with ſuch complacency, he carried his diſſimulation ſo far as to ſeem to relinquiſh his own meaſures in compliance with the requeſt of Ordaz, and iſſued orders that the army ſhould be in readineſs next day to reimbark for Cuba. As ſoon as this was known, the diſappointed adventurers exclaimed and threatened; the emiſſaries of Cortes mingling with them, inflamed their rage; the ferment became general; the whole camp was almoſt in open mutiny; all demanding with eagerneſs to ſee their commander. Cortes was not ſlow in appearing; when, with one voice, they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment and indignation at the orders which they had received. It was unworthy, they cried, of the Caſtilian courage to be daunted at the firſt aſpect of danger, and infamous to fly before any enemy appeared. For their parts, they were determined not to relinquiſh an enterpriſe, that had hitherto been ſucceſsful, and which tended ſo viſibly to ſpread the knowledge of true religion, and to advance the glory and intereſt of their country. Happy under his command, they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, in queſt of thoſe ſettlements and treaſures which he had ſo long held out to their view; but if he choſe rather to return to Cuba, and tamely give up all his hopes of diſtinction and opulence to an envious rival, they would inſtantly chuſe another general to conduct them in that path of glory which he had not ſpirit to enter.

CORTES, delighted with their ardour, took no offence at the boldneſs with which it was uttered. The ſentiments were what he himſelf had inſpired, and

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and the warmth of expreſſion ſatisfied him that his ſoldiers had imbibed them thoroughly. He affected, however, to be ſurpriſed at what he heard, declaring that his orders to prepare for embarking were iſſued from a perſuaſion that this was agreeable to his troops; that, from deference to what he had been informed was their inclination, he had ſacrificed his own private opinion, which was firmly bent on eſtabliſhing immediately a ſettlement on the ſea-coaſt, and then on endeavouring to penetrate into the interior part of the country; that now he was convinced of his error; and as he perceived that they were animated with the generous ſpirit which breathed in every true Spaniard, he would reſume, with freſh ardour, his original plan of operation, and doubted not to conduct them, in the career of victory, to ſuch independent fortunes as their valour merited. Upon this declaration, ſhouts of applauſe teſtified the exceſs of their joy. The meaſure ſeemed to be taken with unanimous conſent; ſuch as ſecretly condemned it, being obliged to join in the acclamations, partly to conceal their diſaffection from the general, and partly to avoid the imputation of cowardice from their fellow-ſoldiers *.

Eſtabliſhes a form of civil government.

WITHOUT allowing his men time to cool or to reflect, Cortes ſet about carrying his deſign into execution. In order to give a beginning to a colony, he aſſembled the principal perſons in his army, and by their ſuffrages elected a council and magiſtrates, in whom the government was to be veſted. As men naturally tranſplant the inſtitutions and forms of the mother-country into their new ſettlements, this was framed upon the model of a Spaniſh corporation. The magiſtrates were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame names and enſigns of office,

* B. Diaz. c. 40, 41, 42. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 6, 7.

office, and were to exerciſe a ſimilar juriſdiction. All the perſons choſen were moſt firmly devoted to Cortes, and the inſtrument of their election was framed in the king's name, without any mention of their dependance on Velaſquez. The two principles of avarice and enthuſiaſm, which prompted the Spaniards to all their enterpriſes in the New World, ſeemed to have concurred in ſuggeſting the name which Cortes beſtowed on his intended ſettlement. He called it, *Villa rica de la vera Cruz*, that is, *The rich town of the true Croſs*.

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Reſigns his commiſſion,

THE firſt meeting of the new council was diſtinguiſhed by a tranſaction of great moment. As ſoon as it aſſembled, Cortes applied for leave to enter; and approaching with many marks of profound reſpect, which added dignity to the tribunal, and ſet an example of reverence for its authority, he began a long harangue, in which, with much art, and in terms extremely flattering to perſons juſt entering upon their new function, he obſerved, that as the ſupreme juriſdiction over the colony which they had planted was now veſted in this court, he conſidered them as clothed with the authority and repreſenting the perſon of their ſovereign; that accordingly he would communicate to them what he deemed eſſential to the public ſafety, with the ſame dutiful fidelity as if he were addreſſing his royal maſter; that the ſecurity of a colony ſettled in a great empire, whoſe ſovereign had already diſcovered his hoſtile intentions, depended upon arms, and the efficacy of theſe upon the ſubordination and diſcipline preſerved among the troops; that his right to command was derived from a commiſſion granted by the governor of Cuba; and as that had been long ſince revoked, the lawfulneſs of his juriſdiction might well be queſtioned; that he ſeemed to act

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act upon a defective, or even a dubious title; nor could they truſt an army which might diſpute the powers of its general, at a juncture when it ought implicitly to obey its orders; that, moved by theſe conſiderations, he now reſigned all his authority to them, that they, having both right to chuſe, and power to confer full juriſdiction, might appoint one, in the king's name, to command the army in its future operations; and as for his own part, ſuch was his zeal for the ſervice in which they were engaged, that he would moſt cheerfully take up a pike with the ſame hand that laid down the general's truncheon, and convince his fellow ſoldiers, that though accuſtomed to command, he had not forgotten how to obey. Having finiſhed this diſcourſe, he laid the commiſſion from Velaſquez upon the table, and, after kiſſing his truncheon, delivered it to the chief magiſtrate, and withdrew.

and is choſen chief juſtice and captain-general.

THE deliberations of the council were not long, as Cortes had concerted this important meaſure with his confidents, and had prepared the other members, with great addreſs, for the part which he wiſhed them to take. His reſignation was accepted; and as the uninterrupted tenour of their proſperity under his conduct afforded the moſt ſatisfying evidence of his abilities for command, they, by their unanimous ſuffrage, elected him chief juſtice of the colony, and captain-general of its army, and appointed his commiſſion to be made out in the king's name, with moſt ample powers, which were to continue in force until the royal pleaſure ſhould be farther known. That this deed might not be deemed the machination of a junto, the council called together the troops, and acquainted them with what had been reſolved. The ſoldiers, with eager applauſe, ratified their choice,

choice; the air reſounded with the name of Cortes, and all vowed to ſhed their blood in ſupport of his authority.

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Asſerts his authority with vigour.

CORTES having now brought his intrigues to the deſired iſſue, and ſhaken off his mortifying dependance on the governor of Cuba, accepted of the commiſſion, which veſted in him ſupreme juriſdiction, civil as well as military, over the colony, with many profeſſions of reſpect to the council, and gratitude to the army. Together with his new command, he aſſumed greater dignity, and began to exerciſe more extenſive powers. Formerly he had felt himſelf to be only the deputy of a ſubject; now he acted as the repreſentative of his ſovereign. The adherents of Velaſquez, fully aware of what would be effect of this change in his ſituation, could no longer continue ſilent and paſſive ſpectators of his actions. They exclaimed openly againſt the proceedings of the council as illegal, and againſt thoſe of the army as mutinous. Cortes, inſtantly perceiving the neceſſity of giving a timely check to ſuch ſeditious diſcourſe by ſome vigorous meaſure, arreſted Ordaz, Eſcudero, and Velaſquez de Leon, the ringleaders of this faction, and ſent them priſoners aboard the fleet, loaded with chains. Their dependants, aſtoniſhed and overawed, remained quiet; and Cortes, more deſirous to reclaim than to puniſh his priſoners, who were officers of great merit, courted their friendſhip with ſuch aſſiduity and addreſs, that the reconciliation was perfectly cordial; and, on the moſt trying occaſions, neither their connection with the governor of Cuba, nor the memory of the indignity with which they had been treated, tempted them to ſwerve from an inviolable attachment to his intereſt †. In this, as well

† B. Diaz. c. 42, 43. Gomara Cron. c. 30, 31. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 7.

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well as his other negociations at this critical conjuncture, which decided with reſpect to his future fame and fortune, Cortes owed much of his ſucceſs to the Mexican gold, which he diſtributed with a liberal hand both among his friends and his opponents. †.

His friendſhip courted by the Zempoallans.

CORTES, having thus rendered the union between himſelf and his army indiſſoluble by thoſe common acts of diſobedience, thought he might now venture to quit the camp in which he had hitherto remained, and advance into the country. To this he was enconraged by an event no leſs fortunate than ſeaſonable. Some Indians having approached his camp in a myſterious manner, were introduced into his preſence. He found that they were ſent with a proffer of friendſhip from the cazique of Zempoalla, a conſiderable town at no great diſtance; and from their anſwers to a variety of queſtions which he put to them, according to his uſual practice in every interview with the people of the country, he gathered, that their maſter, though ſubject to the Mexican empire, was impatient of the yoke, and filled with ſuch dread and hatred of Montezuma, that nothing could be more acceptable to him than any proſpect of deliverance from the oppreſſion under which he groaned. On hearing this, a ray of light and hope broke in upon the mind of Cortes. He ſaw that the great empire which he intended to attack was not united, nor its ſovereign beloved. He concluded, that the cauſes of diſaffection could not be confined to one province, but that in other corners there muſt be malcontents, ſo weary of ſubjection, or ſo deſirous of change, as to be ready to follow the ſtandard of any protector. Full of thoſe ideas, on which he began to form a ſcheme, that time, and more perfect information

† B. Diaz. c. 44.

information concerning the ſtate of the country, enabled him to mature, he gave a moſt gracious reception to the Zempoallans, and promiſed ſoon to viſit their cazique *. BOOK V. 1519.

In order to perform this promiſe, it was not neceſſary to vary the route which he had already fixed for his march. Some officers, whom he had employed to ſurvey the coaſt, having diſcovered a village named Quiabiſlan, about forty miles to the northward, which, both on account of the fertility of the ſoil, and commodiouſneſs of the harbour, ſeemed to be a more proper ſtation for a ſettlement than that where he was encamped, Cortes determined to remove thither. Zempoalla lay in his way, where the cazique received him in the manner which he had reaſon to expect; with gifts and careſſes, like a man ſolicitous to gain his good-will; with reſpect approaching almoſt to adoration, like one who looked up to him as a deliverer. From him he learned many particulars with reſpect to the character of Montezuma, and the circumſtances which rendered his dominion odious. He was a tyrant, as the cazique told him with tears, haughty, cruel, and ſuſpicious; who treated his own ſubjects with arrogance, ruined the conquered provinces by exceſſive exactions, and often tore their ſons and daughters from them by violence; the former, to be offered as victims to his gods; the latter, to be reſerved as concubines for himſelf or favourites. Cortes, in reply to him, artfully inſinuated, that one great object of the Spaniards in viſiting a country ſo remote from their own, was to redreſs grievances, and to relieve the oppreſſed; and having encouraged him to hope for this interpoſition in due time, he continued his march to Quiabiſlan. Marches to Zempoalla.

The

* B. Diaz. c. 41. Gomara Cron. c. 28.

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THE ſpot which his officers had recommended as a proper ſituation, appeared to him to be ſo well choſen, that he immediately marked out ground for a town. The houſes to be erected were only huts, but theſe were to be ſurrounded with fortifications, of ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the aſſaults of an Indian army. As the finiſhing of thoſe fortifications was eſſential to the exiſtence of a colony, and of no leſs importance in proſecuting the deſigns which the leader and his followers meditated, both in order to ſecure a place of retreat, and to preſerve their communication with the ſea, every man in the army, officers as well as ſoldiers, put his hand to the work, Cortes himſelf ſetting them an example of activity and perſeverance in labour. The Indians of Zempoalla and Quiabiſlan aſſiſted their aid; and this petty ſtation, the parent of ſo many mighty ſettlements, was ſoon in a ſtate of defence †.

Builds a fort.

WHILE engaged in this neceſſary work, Cortes had ſeveral interviews with the caziques of Zempoalla and Quiabiſlan; and availing himſelf of their wonder and aſtoniſhment at the new objects which they daily beheld, he gradually inſpired them with ſuch high opinion of the Spaniards, as beings of a ſuperior order, and irreſiſtible in arms, that, relying on their protection, they ventured to inſult the Mexican power, at the very name of which they were accuſtomed to tremble. Some of Montezuma's officers having appeared to levy the uſual tribute, and to demand a certain number of human victims, as an expiation for their guilt in preſuming to hold intercourſe with thoſe ſtrangers whom the emperor had commanded to leave his dominions, inſtead of obeying the order, they made them priſoners,

Concludes a formal alliance with ſeveral caziques.

† B. Diaz. c. 45, 45, 46, 48. Gomara Cron. c. 32, 33, 37. Herera, dec. 2. lib. iv. c. 8, 9.

ſoners, treated them with great indignity, and, as their ſuperſtition was no leſs barbarous than that of the Mexicans, they threatened to ſacrifice them to their gods. From this laſt danger they were delivered by the interpoſition of Cortes, who manifeſted the utmoſt horror at the mention of ſuch a deed. The two caziques having now been puſhed to an act of ſuch open rebellion, as left them no hope of ſafety but in attaching themſelves inviolably to the Spaniards, they ſoon completed their union with them, by formally acknowledging themſelves to be vaſſals of the ſame monarch. Their example was followed by the Totonaques, a fierce people who inhabited the mountainous part of the country. They willingly ſubjected themſelves to the crown of Caſtile, and offered to accompany Cortes, with all their forces, in his march towards Mexico §.

His meaſures to procure a confirmation of his authority by the king.

Cortes had now been above three months in New Spain; and though this period had not been diſtinguiſhed by martial enterpriſes, every moment had been employed in operations, which, though leſs ſplendid, were more important. By his addreſs in conducting his intrigues with his own army, as well as his ſagacity in carrying on his negociations with the natives, he had already laid the foundations of his future ſucceſs. But whatever confidence he might place in the plan which he had formed, he could not but perceive, that as his title to command was derived from a doubtful authority, he held it by a precarious tenure. The injuries which Velaſquez had received, were ſuch as would naturally prompt him to apply for redreſs to their common ſovereign; and ſuch a repreſentation might be given of his conduct, that he had reaſon to apprehend, not only that he might be degraded from his preſent rank, but ſubjected

§ B. Diaz. c. 47. Gomara Cron. 35, 36. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 9, 10, 11.

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jected to punishment. Before he began his march, it was necessary to take the most effectual precautions against this impending danger. With this view, he persuaded the magistrates of his colony to address a letter to the king, containing a long account of their own services; a pompous description of the country which they had discovered; its riches, the number of its inhabitants, their civilization and arts; a view of the progress which they had already made, in annexing several extensive provinces of it to the crown of Castile, and of the schemes which they had formed, as well as the hopes which they entertained, of reducing the whole to subjection; and last of all, they gave a minute detail of the motives which had induced them to renounce all connection with Velasquez, to settle a colony dependant upon the crown alone, and to vest the supreme power, civil, as well as military, in the hands of Cortes; humbly requesting their sovereign to ratify what they had done by his royal authority. Cortes himself wrote in a similar strain; and as he knew that the Spanish court accustomed to the exaggerated representations of every new country by its discoverer, would give little credit to their splendid accounts of New Spain, if they were not accompanied with such a specimen of what it contained, as would excite an high idea of its opulence, he solicited his soldiers to relinquish what they might claim as their part of the treasures which had hitherto been collected, in order that the whole might be sent to the king. Such was the ascendant which he had acquired over their minds, and such their own romantic expectations of future wealth, that an army of indigent and rapacious adventurers was ~~capable~~ of this generous effort, and offered to their sovereign the richest present that had hitherto been transmitted from the New World *.

Portocarrero

* See NOTE VIII.

Portocarrero and Montejo, the chief magiſtrates of the colony, were appointed to carry this preſent to Caſtile, with expreſs orders not to touch at Cuba in their paſſage thither *. BOOK V. 1519.

A conſpiracy againſt Cortes.

WHILE a veſſel was preparing for their departure, an unexpected event occaſioned a general alarm. Some ſoldiers and ſailors, ſecretly attached to Velaſquez, or intimidated at the proſpect of the dangers unavoidable in attempting to penetrate into the heart of a great empire with ſuch unequal force, formed the deſign of ſeizing one of the brigantines, and making their eſcape to Cuba, in order to give the governor ſuch intelligence as might enable him to intercept the ſhip which was to carry the treaſure and diſpatches to Spain. This conſpiracy, though formed by perſons of low rank, was conducted with profound ſecrecy; but at the moment when every thing was ready for execution, they were betrayed by one of their aſſociates.

He deſtroys his fleet.

THOUGH the good fortune of Cortes interpoſed ſo ſeaſonably on this occaſion, the detection of this conſpiracy filled his mind with moſt diſquieting apprehenſions, and prompted him to execute a ſcheme which he had long revolved. He perceived that the ſpirit of diſaffection ſtill lurked among his troops; that though hitherto checked by the uniform ſucceſs of his ſchemes, or kept down by the hand of authority, various events might occur which would encourage and call it forth. He obſerved, that many of his men, weary of the fatigue of ſervice, longed to reviſit their ſettlements in Cuba; and that upon any appearance of extraordinary danger, or any reverſe of fortune, it would be impoſſible to reſtrain them from returning thither. He was ſenſible that his forces,

* B. Diaz. c. 54. Gomara Cron. c. 40.

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already too feeble, could bear no diminution, and that a very ſmall defection of his followers would oblige him to abandon the enterpriſe. After ruminating, often, and with much ſolicitude, upon thoſe particulars, he ſaw no hope of ſucceſs, but in cutting off all poſſibility of retreat, and reducing his men to the neceſſity of adopting the ſame reſolution with which he himſelf was animated, either to conquer or to periſh. With this view, he determined to deſtroy his fleet; but as he durſt not venture to execute ſuch a bold reſolution by his ſingle authority, he laboured to bring his ſoldiers to adopt his ideas with reſpect to the propriety of this meaſure. His addreſs in accompliſhing this was not inferior to the arduous occaſion in which it was employed. He perſuaded ſome, that the ſhips had ſuffered ſo much by having been long at ſea, as to be altogether unfit for ſervice; to others he pointed out what a ſeaſonable reinforcement of ſtrength they would derive from the junction of an hundred men, now unprofitably employed as ſailors; and to all he repreſented the neceſſity of fixing their eyes and wiſhes upon what was before them, without allowing the idea of a retreat once to enter their thoughts. With univerſal conſent the ſhips were drawn aſhore, and after ſtripping them of their ſails, rigging, iron-works, and whatever elſe might be of uſe, they were broke in pieces. Thus, from an effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing parallel in hiſtory, five hundred men voluntarily conſented to be ſhut up in a hoſtile country, filled with powerful and unknown nations; and having precluded every means of eſcape, left themſelves without any reſource but their own valour and perſeverance †.

NOTHING

† Relat. di Cortes. Ramuſ. iii. 225. B. Diaz. c. 57, 58. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 14.

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NOTHING now retarded Cortes; the alacrity of his troops and the disposition of his allies were equally favourable. All the advantages, however, derived from the latter, though procured by much assiduity and address, were well-nigh lost in a moment by an indiscreet sally of religious zeal, which, on many occasions, precipitated Cortes into actions inconsistent with the prudence that distinguishes his character. Though hitherto he had neither time nor opportunity to explain to the natives the errors of their own superstition, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith, he commanded his soldiers to overturn the altars and to destroy the idols in the chief temple of Zempoalla, and in their place to erect a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. The people beheld this with astonishment and horror; the priests excited them to arms; but such was the authority of Cortes, and so great the ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired, that the commotion was appeased without bloodshed, and concord perfectly re-established *.

Advances into the country.

CORTES began his march from Zempoalla on the sixteenth of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field-pieces. The rest of his troops, consisting chiefly of such as from age or infirmity were less fit for active service, he left as a garrison in Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, an officer of merit, and warmly attached to his interest. The cazique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and with two hundred of those Indians called *Tamemes*, whose office, in a country where tame animals were unknown, was to carry burdens, and perform all servile labour. They were a great relief to the Spanish soldiers, who hitherto had been obliged, not only

* B. Diaz. c. 41, 42. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 3, 4.

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to carry their own baggage, but to drag along the artillery by main force. He offered likewiſe a conſiderable body of his troops, but Cortes was ſatisfied with four hundred; taking care, however, to chuſe perſons of ſuch note as might prove hoſtages for the fidelity of their maſter. Nothing memorable happened in his progreſs, until he arrived on the confines of Tlaſcala. The inhabitants of that province, a warlike people, were implacable enemies of the Mexicans, and had been united in an ancient alliance with the caziques of Zempoalla. Though leſs civilized than the ſubjects of Montezuma, they were advanced in improvement far beyond the rude nations of America, whoſe manners we have deſcribed. They had made conſiderable progreſs in agriculture; they dwelt in large towns; they were not ſtrangers to ſome ſpecies of commerce; and in the imperfect accounts of their inſtitutions and laws, tranſmitted to us by the early Spaniſh writers, we diſcern traces both of diſtributive juſtice and of criminal juriſdiction, in their interior police. But ſtill, as the degree of their civilization was incomplete, and as they depended for ſubſiſtence not on agriculture alone, but truſted for it, in a great meaſure, to hunting, they retained many of the qualities natural to men in this ſtate. Like them, they were fierce and revengeful; like them too, they were high-ſpirited and independant. In conſequence of the former, they were involved in perpetual hoſtilities, and had but a ſlender and occaſional intercourſe with neighbouring ſtates. The latter inſpired them with ſuch deteſtation of ſervitude, that they not only refuſed to ſtoop to a foreign yoke, and maintained an obſtinate and ſucceſsful conteſt in defence of their liberty againſt the ſuperior power of the Mexican empire, but they guarded with equal ſolicitude againſt domeſtic tyranny; and diſdaining to acknowledge any

maſter,

master, they lived under the mild and limited jurisdiction of a council elected by their several tribes.

1519.

His war with the Tlascalans.

CORTES, though he had received information concerning the martial character of this people, flattered himself that his professions of delivering the oppressed from the tyranny of Montezuma, their enmity to the Mexicans, and the example of their ancient allies the Zempoallans, might induce them to grant him a friendly reception. In order to dispose them to this, four Zempoallans of great eminence were sent ambassadors, to request, in his name and in that of their cazique, that they would permit the Spaniards to pass through the territories of Tlascala in their way to Mexico. But instead of the favourable answer which was expected, the Tlascalans seized the ambassadors, and, without any regard to their public character, made preparations for sacrificing them to their gods. At the same time, they assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders, if they should attempt to make their passage good by force of arms. Various motives concurred in precipitating the Tlascalans into this resolution. A fierce people, shut up within its own narrow precincts, and little accustomed to any intercourse with foreigners, is apt to consider every stranger as an enemy, and is easily excited to arms. They concluded, from Cortes's proposal of visiting Montezuma in his capital, that, notwithstanding all his professions, he courted the friendship of a monarch whom they both hated and feared. The imprudent zeal of Cortes in violating the temples in Zempoalla, filled the Tlascalans with horror; and as they were no less attached to their superstition than the other nations of New Spain, they were impatient to avenge their injured gods, and to acquire

the

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the merit of offering up to them as victims thoſe impious men, who had dared to profane their altars; the Spaniards, from the ſmallneſs of their number, were objects of their contempt; they had not yet meaſured their own ſtrength with theirs, and had no idea of the ſuperiority which they derived from their arms and diſcipline.

Aug. 30. Succeſs of it.

CORTES, after waiting ſome days, in vain, for the return of his ambaſſadors, advanced into the Tlaſcalan territories. As the reſolutions of people who delight in war are executed with no leſs promptitude than they are formed, he found troops in the field ready to oppoſe him. They attacked him with great intrepidity, and in the firſt encounter, wounded ſome of the Spaniards, and killed two horſes; a loſs, in their ſituation, of great moment, becauſe it was irreparable. From this ſpecimen of the courage of his new enemies, Cortes ſaw the neceſſity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in cloſe order; he choſe the ſtations where he halted with attention, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care. During fourteen days he was expoſed to almoſt uninterrupted aſſaults; the Tlaſcalans advancing with numerous armies, and renewing the attack in various forms, with a degree of valour and perſeverance to which the Spaniards had ſeen nothing parallel in the New World. The Spaniſh hiſtorians deſcribe thoſe ſucceſſive battles with great pomp, and enter into a minute detail of particulars, mingling many exaggerated and incredible circumſtances * with thoſe which are real and marvellous. But no power of words can render the recital of a combat intereſting, where there is no equality of danger; and when the narrative cloſes with an account of thouſands

* See NOTE IX.

thouſands ſlain on the one ſide, while not a ſingle perſon falls on the other, the moſt laboured deſcriptions of the previous diſpoſition of the troops, or of the various viciſſitudes in the engagement, command no attention. BOOK V. 1519.

THERE are ſome circumſtances, however, in this war, which are memorable and merit notice, as they throw light upon the character both of the people of New Spain, and of their conquerors. Though the Tlaſcalans brought into the field ſuch vaſt armies as appear ſufficient to have overwhelmed the Spaniards, they were never able to make any impreſſion upon their ſmall battalion. Singular as this may ſeem, it is not inexplicable. The Tlaſcalans, though addicted to war, were, like all unpoliſhed nations, ſtrangers to military order and diſcipline, and loſt all the advantage which they might have derived from their numbers, and the impetuoſity of their attack, by their conſtant ſolicitude to carry off the dead and wounded. This point of honour, founded on a ſentiment of tenderneſs natural to the human mind, and ſtrengthened by anxiety to preſerve the bodies of their countrymen from being devoured by their enemies, was univerſal among the people of New Spain. Attention to this pious office occupied them, even during the heat of combat ‖, broke their union, and diminiſhed the force of the impreſſion which they might have made by a joint effort. Some ſingular circumſtances in it.

NOT only was their ſuperiority in number of little avail, but the imperfection of their military weapons rendered their valour in a great meaſure inoffenſive. After three battles, and many ſkirmiſhes and aſſaults, not one Spaniard was killed in the

‖ B. Diaz. c. 65

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the field. Arrows and ſpears, headed with flint or the bones of fiſhes, ſtakes hardened in the fire, and wooden ſwords, though deſtructive weapons among naked Indians, were eaſily turned aſide by the Spaniſh bucklers, and could hardly penetrate the *eſcaupiles*, or quilted jackets which the ſoldiers wore. The Tlaſcalans advanced boldly to the charge, and often fought hand to hand. Many of the Spaniards were wounded, though all ſlightly, which cannot be imputed to any want of courage in their enemies, but to the defect of the arms with which they aſſailed them.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fury with which the Tlaſcalans attacked the Spaniards, they ſeem to have conducted their hoſtilities with ſome degree of barbarous generoſity. They gave the Spaniards warning of their hoſtile intentions, and as they knew that they wanted proviſions, and imagined, perhaps, like the other Americans, that they had left their own country becauſe it did not afford them ſubſiſtence, they ſent to their camp a large ſupply of poultry and maize, deſiring them to eat plentifully, becauſe they ſcorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger, and it would be an affront to their gods to offer them famiſhed victims, as well as diſagreeable to themſelves to feed on ſuch emaciated prey *.

WHEN they were taught, by the firſt encounter with their new enemies, that it was not eaſy to execute this threat; when they perceived, in the ſubſequent engagements, that notwithſtanding all the efforts of their own valour, of which they had a very high opinion, not one of the Spaniards was ſlain or taken, they began to conceive them

* Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 6. Gomara Cron. c. 47.

them to be a ſuperior order of beings, againſt whom human power could not avail. In this extremity, they had recourſe to their prieſts, requiring them to reveal the myſterious cauſes of ſuch extraordinary events, and to declare what new means they ſhould employ in order to repulſe thoſe formidable invaders. The prieſts, after many ſacrifices and incantations, delivered this reſponſe: That theſe ſtrangers were the offſpring of the ſun, procreated by his animating energy in the regions of the eaſt; that, by day, while cheriſhed with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigour declined and faded like the herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men*. Theories leſs plauſible have gained credit with more enlightened nations, and have influenced their conduct. In conſequence of this, the Tlaſcalans, with the implicit confidence of men who fancy themſelves to be under the guidance of Heaven, acted in contradiction to one of their moſt eſtabliſhed maxims in war, and ventured to attack the enemy in the night-time, in hopes of deſtroying them when enfeebled and ſurpriſed. But Cortes had more vigilance and diſcernment than to be deceived by the rude ſtratagems of an Indian army. The centinels at his outpoſts, obſerving ſome extraordinary movement among the Tlaſcalans, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and ſallying out, diſperſed the party with great ſlaughter, without allowing them to approach the camp. Convinced, by ſad experience, that their prieſts had deluded them, and ſatisfied that they attempted in vain, either to deceive or to vanquiſh their enemies, the fierceneſs of the Tlaſcalans abated, and they began to incline ſeriouſly to peace.

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THEY

* B. Diaz. c. 66.

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The Tlaſcalans diſpoſed to peace.

THEY were at a loſs however, in what manner to addreſs the ſtrangers, what idea to form of their character, and whether to conſider them as beings of a gentle or of a malevolent nature. There were circumſtances in their conduct which ſeemed to favour each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards conſtantly diſmiſſed the priſoners whom they took, not only without injury, but often with preſents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory; this lenity amazed people accuſtomed to the exterminating ſyſtem of war known in America, and who ſacrificed and devoured without mercy all the captives taken in battle, and diſpoſed them to entertain favourable ſentiments of their humanity. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had ſeized fifty of their countrymen who brought proviſions to his camp, and ſuppoſing them to be ſpies, had cut off their heads *; this bloody ſpectacle, added to the terror occaſioned by the fire-arms and horſes, filled them with dreadful impreſſions of their ferocity †. Accordingly, this uncertainty was apparent in their mode of addreſſing the Spaniards. "If, ſaid they, you are divinities of a cruel and ſavage nature, we preſent to you five ſlaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their fleſh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incenſe and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is meat, bread and fruit, to nouriſh you ‡." The peace, which both parties now deſired with equal ardour, was ſoon concluded. The Tlaſcalans yielded themſelves as vaſſals to the crown of Caſtile, and engaged to aſſiſt Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promiſed to defend their perſons and poſſeſſions from injury or violence.

Concluded.

THIS

* Cortes Relat. Ramuſ. iii. 228. C. Gomara Cron c. 48

† See NOTE X. ‡ B. Diaz. c. 70. Gomara Cron. c. 47. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 7.

1519.

THIS treaty was concluded at a ſeaſonable juncture for the Spaniards. The fatigue of ſervice among a ſmall body of men, ſurrounded by ſuch a multitude of enemies, was incredible. Half the army was on duty every night, and even they whoſe turn it was to reſt, ſlept always upon their arms, that they might be ready to run to their poſts on a moment's warning. Many of them were wounded, a good number, and among theſe Cortes himſelf, laboured under the diſtemper peculiar to the climate, and ſeveral had died ſince they ſet out from Vera Cruz. Notwithſtanding the ſupplies which they received from the Tlaſcalans, they were often in want of proviſions, and ſo deſtitute of the neceſſaries moſt requiſite in dangerous ſervice; that they had no ſalve to dreſs their wounds, but what was compoſed with the fat of the Indians whom they had ſlain *. Worn out with ſuch intolerable toil and hardſhips, many of the ſoldiers began to murmur, and when they reflected on the multitude and boldneſs of their enemies, more were ready to deſpair. It required the utmoſt exertion of Cortes's authority and addreſs to check this ſpirit of deſpondency in its progreſs, and to reanimate his followers with their wonted ſenſe of their own ſuperiority over the enemies with whom they had to contend †. The ſubmiſſion of the Tlaſcalans, and their own triumphant entry into the capital city, where they were received with the reverence paid to beings of a ſuperior order, baniſhed, at once, from the minds of the Spaniards all memory of paſt ſufferings, diſpelled every anxious thought with reſpect to their future operations, and fully ſatisfied them that there was not now any power in America able to withſtand their arms ‡.

Advantages of it to the Spaniards.

CORTES

* B. Diaz. c. 62. 65. † Cortes Relat. Ram. iii. 229. B. Diaz. c. 69. Gomara Cron. c. 51. ‡ Cortes Relat. Ramuſ. iii. 230. B. Diaz. c. 72.

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1519.

Cortes solicitous to gain their confidence.

CORTES remained twenty days in Tlaſcala, in order to allow his troops a ſhort interval of repoſe after ſuch a hard ſervice. During that time, he was employed in tranſactions and inquiries of great moment with reſpect to his future ſchemes. In his daily conferences with the Tlaſcalan chiefs, he received information concerning every particular relative to the ſtate of the Mexican empire, or to the qualities of its ſovereign, which could be of uſe in regulating his conduct, whether he ſhould be obliged to act as a friend or as an enemy. As he found that the antipathy of his new allies to the Mexican nation was no leſs implacable than had been repreſented, and perceived what benefit he might derive from the aid of ſuch powerful confederates, he employed all his powers of inſinuation in order to gain their confidence. Nor was any extraordinary exertion of theſe neceſſary. The Tlaſcalans, with the levity of mind natural to unpoliſhed men, were, of their own accord, diſpoſed to run from the extreme of hatred to that of fondneſs. Every thing in the appearance and conduct of their gueſts, was to them matter of wonder*. They gazed at whatever the Spaniards did with admiration, and fancying them to be of heavenly origin, were eager not only to comply with their demands, but to anticipate their wiſhes. They offered, accordingly, to accompany Cortes in his march to Mexico, with all the forces of the republic, under the command of their moſt experienced captains.

Which he had almoſt loſt by his raſh zeal.

BUT, after beſtowing ſo much pains on cementing this union, all the beneficial fruits of it were on the point of being loſt, by a new effuſion of that intemperate zeal with which Cortes

* See NOTE XI.

Cortes was animated, no leſs than the other adventurers of the age. They all conſidered themſelves as inſtruments employed by Heaven to propagate the Chriſtian faith; and the leſs they were qualified either by their knowledge or morals for ſuch a function, they were more eager to diſcharge it. The profound veneration of the Tlaſcalans for the Spaniards, having encouraged Cortes to explain to ſome of their chiefs the doctrines of the Chriſtian religion, and to inſiſt that they ſhould abandon their own ſuperſtitions, and embrace the faith of their new friends, they, according to an idea univerſal among barbarous nations, readily acknowledged the truth and excellence of what he taught; but contended, that the *Teules* of Tlaſcala were divinities no leſs than the God in whom the Spaniards believed; and as that being was intitled to their homage, ſo they were bound to revere the ſame powers which their anceſtors had worſhipped. Cortes continued, nevertheleſs, to urge his demand in a tone of authority, mingling threats with his arguments, until the Tlaſcalans could bear it no longer, and conjured him never to mention this again, leſt the gods ſhould avenge on their heads the guilt of having liſtened to ſuch a propoſition. Cortes, aſtoniſhed and enraged at their obſtinacy, prepared to execute by force what he could not accompliſh by perſuaſion, and was going to overturn their altars, and caſt down their idols with the ſame violent hands as at Zempoalla; if father Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition, had not checked his inconſiderate impetuoſity. He repreſented the imprudence of ſuch an attempt in a large city newly reconciled, and filled with people no leſs ſuperſtitious than warlike; he declared that the proceedings at Zempoalla had always appeared to him precipitate and unjuſt; that religion was not to be propagated by the ſword, or infidels to be converted by violence;

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lence; that other weapons were to be employed in this miniſtry, patient inſtruction muſt enlighten the underſtanding, and pious example captivate the heart, before men could be induced to abandon error and embrace the truth *. Amidſt ſcenes, where a narrow-minded bigotry appears in ſuch cloſe union with oppreſſion and cruelty, ſentiments ſo liberal and humane, ſooth the mind with unexpected pleaſure; and at a time, when the rights of conſcience were little underſtood in the Chriſtian world, and the idea of toleration unknown, one is aſtoniſhed to find a Spaniſh monk of the ſixteenth century among the firſt advocates againſt perſecution, and in behalf of religious liberty. The remonſtrances of an eccleſiaſtic no leſs reſpectable for wiſdom than virtue, had their proper weight with Cortes. He left the Tlaſcalans in the undiſturbed exerciſe of their own rites, requiring only that they ſhould deſiſt from their horrid practice of offering human victims in ſacrifice.

Advances to Cholula.

CORTES, as ſoon as his troops were fit for ſervice, reſolved to continue his march towards Mexico, notwithſtanding the earneſt diſſuaſives of the Tlaſcalans, who repreſented his deſtruction as unavoidable, if he put himſelf in the power of a prince ſo faithleſs and cruel as Montezuma. As he was accompanied by ſix thouſand Tlaſcalans, he had now the command of forces which

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reſembled a regular army. They directed their courſe towards Cholula; Montezuma, who had at length conſented to admit the Spaniards into his preſence, having informed Cortes, that he had given orders for his friendly reception there. Cholula was a conſiderable town, and though only five leagues diſtant from Tlaſcala, was formerly an independent ſtate, but had been lately

* P. Diaz. c. 77. p. 54. c. 83. p. 61.

lately subjected to the Mexican empire. This was considered by all the people of New Spain as a holy place, the sanctuary and chief seat of their gods, to which pilgrims resorted from every province, and a greater number of human victims were offered in its principal temple than even in that of Mexico *. Montezuma seems to have invited the Spaniards thither, either from some superstitious hope that the gods would not suffer this sacred mansion to be defiled, without pouring down their wrath upon those impious strangers, who ventured to insult their power in the place of its peculiar residence, or from a belief that he himself might there attempt to cut them off with more certain success, under the immediate protection of his divinities.

The severity of his procedure there.

CORTES had been warned by the Tlascalans, before he set out on his march, to keep a watchful eye over the Cholulans. He himself, though received into the town with much seeming respect and cordiality, observed several circumstances in their conduct which excited suspicion. Two of the Tlascalans, who were encamped at some distance from the town, as the Cholulans refused to admit their ancient enemies within its precincts, having found means to enter in disguise, acquainted Cortes, that they observed the women and children of the principal citizens retiring in great hurry every night; and that six children had been sacrificed in the chief temple, a rite which indicated the execution of some warlike enterprise to be approaching. At the same time, Marina the interpreter received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of her friends was concerted; that a body

* Torquemada Monar. Ind. i. 281, 282. ii 291. Gomara Cron. c. 61. Herrera, dec. 2 lib. vii. c. 2.

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a body of Mexican troops lay concealed near the town; that ſome of the ſtreets were barricaded, and in others pits or deep trenches were dug, and ſlightly covered over, as traps into which the horſe might fall; that ſtones and miſſive weapons were collected on the tops of the temples, with which to overwhelm the infantry; that the fatal hour was now at hand, and their ruin unavoidable. Cortes, alarmed at this concurring evidence, ſecretly arreſted three of the chief prieſts, and extorted from them a confeſſion that confirmed the intelligence which he had received. As not a moment was to be loſt, he inſtantly reſolved to prevent his enemies, and to inflict on them ſuch dreadful vengeance as might ſtrike Montezuma and his ſubjects with terror. For this purpoſe, the Spaniards and Zempoallans were drawn up in a large court, which had been allotted for their quarters near the centre of the town; the Tlaſcalans had orders to advance; the magiſtrates, and ſeveral of the chief citizens, were ſent for under various pretexts, and ſeized. On a ſignal given, the troops ruſhed out, and fell upon the multitude, deſtitute of leaders, and ſo much aſtoniſhed, that the weapons dropped from their hands, and they ſtood motionleſs, and incapable of defence. While the Spaniards preſſed them in front, the Tlaſcalans attacked them in the rear. The ſtreets were filled with bloodſhed and death. The temples, which afforded a retreat to the prieſts and ſome of the leading men, were ſet on fire, and they periſhed in the flames. This ſcene of horror continued two days; during which, the wretched inhabitants ſuffered all that the deſtructive rage of the Spaniards, or the implacable revenge of their Indian allies, could inflict. At length the carnage ceaſed, after the ſlaughter of ſix thouſand Cholulans, without the loſs of a ſingle Spaniard. Cortes then releaſed the magiſtrates, and reproaching them bitterly

bitterly for their intended treachery, declared, that as juſtice was now appeaſed, he forgave the offence, but required them to recall the citizens who had fled, and re-eſtabliſh order in the town. Such was the aſcendant which the Spaniards had acquired over this ſuperſtitious race of men, and ſo deeply were they impreſſed with an opinion of their ſuperior diſcernment, as well as power, that, in obedience to this command, the city was in a few days filled again with people, who, amidſt the ruins of their ſacred buildings, yielded reſpectful ſervice to men whoſe hands were ſtained with the blood of their relations and fellow-citizens *.

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FROM Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico, which was only twenty leagues diſtant. In every place through which he paſſed, he was received as a perſon poſſeſſed of ſufficient power to deliver the empire from the oppreſſion under which it groaned; and the caziques or governors, with the unreſerved confidence repoſed in ſuperior beings, communicated to him all the grievances which they felt under the tyrannical government of Montezuma. When Cortes firſt obſerved the ſeeds of diſcontent in the remote provinces of the empire, a ray of hope broke in upon his mind; but when he diſcovered ſuch ſymptoms of alienation from their monarch near the ſeat of government, he concluded that the vital parts of the conſtitution were affected, and conceived the moſt ſanguine expectations of overturning a ſtate whoſe natural ſtrength was thus divided and impaired. While thoſe reflections encouraged the general to perſiſt in his arduous undertaking, the ſoldiers were no leſs animated by obſervations

Oct. 29. Advances towards Mexico.

* Cortes Relat. Ramuſ. iii. 231: B. Diaz. c. 83. Gomara Cron. c. 64. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 1, 2. See NOTE XII.

BOOK V.

1519. First view of it.

more obvious to their capacity. In deſcending from the mountains of Chalco, acroſs which the road lay, the vaſt plain of Mexico opened gradually to their view. When they firſt beheld this proſpect, one of the moſt ſtriking and beautiful on the face of the earth; when they obſerved fertile and cultivated fields, ſtretching farther than the eye could reach; when they ſaw a lake reſembling the ſea in extent, encompaſſed with large towns, and diſcovered the capital city riſing upon an iſland in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets; the ſcene ſo far exceeded their imagination, that ſome believed the fanciful deſcriptions of romance were realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were preſented to their ſight; others could hardly perſuade themſelves that this wonderful ſpectacle was any thing more than a dream *. As they advanced, their doubts were removed, but their amazement increaſed. They were now fully ſatisfied that the country was rich beyond any conception which they had formed of it, and flattered themſelves, that at length they ſhould obtain an ample recompence for all their ſervices and ſufferings.

The irreſolution of Montezuma.

No enemy had yet appeared to oppoſe their progreſs, though ſeveral circumſtances occurred which led them to ſuſpect that ſome deſign was formed to ſurpriſe and cut them off. Many meſſengers arrived ſucceſſively from Montezuma, permitting them one day to advance, requiring them on the next to retire, as his hopes or fears alternately prevailed; and ſo wonderful was this infatuation, which ſeems to be unaccountable on any ſuppoſition but that of a ſuperſtitious dread of the Spaniards, as being of a ſuperior nature, that Cortes was almoſt at the gates of the capital, before the monarch had determined whether to receive him as a friend, or to oppoſe him as an enemy.

* See NOTE XIII.

enemy. But as no ſign of open hoſtility appeared, the Spaniards, without regarding the fluctuations of Montezuma's ſentiments, continued their march along the cauſeway which led to Mexico through the lake, with great circumſpection and the ſtricteſt diſcipline, though without ſeeming to ſuſpect the prince whom they were about to viſit. BOOK V. 1519.

His firſt interview with the Spaniards.

WHEN they drew near the city, about a thouſand perſons, who appeared to be of diſtinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes, and clad in mantles of fine cotton. Each of theſe, in his order, paſſed by Cortes, and ſaluted him according to the mode deemed moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive in their country. They announced the approach of Montezuma himſelf, and ſoon after his harbingers came in ſight. There appeared firſt two hundred perſons in an uniform dreſs, with large plumes of feathers, alike in faſhion, marching two and two, in deep ſilence, barefooted with their eyes fixed on the ground. Theſe were followed by a company of higher rank, in their moſt ſhowy apparel, in the midſt of whom was Montezuma, in a chair or litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colours. Four of his principal favourites carried him on their ſhoulders, others ſupported a canopy of curious workmanſhip over his head. Before him marched three officers with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up on high at certain intervals, and at that ſignal all the people bowed their heads, and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on ſo great a monarch. When he drew near, Cortes diſmounted, advancing towards him with officious haſte, and in a reſpectful poſture. At the ſame time Montezuma alighted from his chair, and leaning on the arms of two of his near relations, approached with a ſlow and ſtately pace, his attendants covering the ſtreet with cotton cloths,

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that he might not touch the ground. Cortes accoſted him with profound reverence, after the European faſhion. He returned the ſalutation, according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kiſſing it. This ceremony, the cuſtomary expreſſion of reverence from inferiors towards thoſe who were above them in rank, appeared ſuch amazing condeſcenſion in a proud monarch, who ſcarcely deigned to conſider the reſt of mankind as of the ſame ſpecies with himſelf, that all his ſubjects firmly believed thoſe perſons, before whom he humbled himſelf in this manner, to be ſomething more than human. Accordingly, as they marched through the crowd, the Spaniards frequently, and with much ſatisfaction, heard themſelves denominated *Teules*, or divinities. Nothing material paſſed in this firſt interview. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception, and immediately took leave of him, with a politeneſs not unworthy of a court more refined. "You are now," ſays he, "with your brothers, in your own houſe; refreſh yourſelves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return *." The place allotted to the Spaniards for their lodging was a houſe built by the father of Montezuma. It was ſurrounded by a ſtone-wall, with towers at proper diſtances, which ſerved for defence as well as for ornament, and its apartments and courts were ſo large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies. The firſt care of Cortes was to take precautions for his ſecurity, by planting the artillery ſo as to command the different avenues which led to it, by appointing a large diviſion of his troops to be always on guard, and by poſting centinels at proper ſtations, with injunctions to obſerve the ſame vigilant diſcipline as if they were within ſight of an enemy's camp.

In

* Cortes Relat. Ram. iii. 232—235. B. Diaz. c. 83—88. Gomara Cron. c. 64, 65. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 3, 4, 5.

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In the evening Montezuma returned to viſit his gueſts with the ſame pomp as in their firſt interview, and brought preſents of ſuch value, not only to Cortes and to his officers, but even to the private men, as proved the liberality of the monarch to be ſuitable to the opulence of his kingdom. A long conference enſued, in which Cortes learned what was the opinion of Montezuma with reſpect to the Spaniards. It was an eſtabliſhed tradition, he told him, among the Mexicans, that their anceſtors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces now ſubject to his dominion; that after they were ſettled there, the great captain who conducted this colony returned to his own country, promiſing, that at ſome future period his deſcendants ſhould viſit them, aſſume the government, and reform their conſtitution and laws; that, from what he had heard and ſeen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very perſons whoſe appearance their tradition and prophecies taught them to expect; that accordingly he had received them, not as ſtrangers, but as relations of the ſame blood and parentage, and deſired that they might conſider themſelves as maſters in his dominions; for both himſelf and his ſubjects ſhould be ready to comply with their will, and even to prevent their wiſhes. Cortes made a reply in his uſual ſtile with reſpect to the dignity and power of his ſovereign, and his intention in ſending him into that country; artfully endeavouring ſo to frame his diſcourſe, that it might coincide as much as poſſible with the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards. Next morning, Cortes and ſome of his principal attendants were admitted to a public audience of the emperor. The three ſubſequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which, ſo far ſuperior in the order of its buildings

His idea of the Spaniards.

and

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and the number of its inhabitants to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, and yet ſo little reſembling the ſtructure of an European city, filled them with ſurpriſe and admiration.

MEXICO, *Tenuchtitlan*, as it was anciently called by the natives, is ſituated in a large plain, environed by mountains of ſuch height, that though within the torrid zone, the temperature of its climate is mild and healthful. All the moiſture which deſcends from the high grounds is collected in ſeveral lakes, the two largeſt of which, of about ninety miles in circuit, communicate with each other. The waters of the one are freſh, thoſe of the others brackiſh. On the banks of the latter and on ſome ſmall iſlands adjoining to them, the capital of Montezuma's empire was built. The acceſs to the city was by artificial cauſeways or ſtreets, formed of ſtones and earth, about thirty feet in breadth. As the waters of the lake during the rainy ſeaſon, overflowed the flat country, theſe cauſeways were of conſiderable length. That of Tacuba on the weſt a mile and a half; that of Tezeuco on the northweſt three miles; that of Cuoyacan towards the ſouth ſix miles. On the eaſt there was no cauſeway, and the city could be approached only by canoes *. In each of theſe caſeways were openings, at proper intervals, through which the waters flowed; and over theſe beams of timber were laid, which, being covered with earth, the cauſeway or ſtreet had every where an uniform appearance. As the approaches to the city were ſingular, its conſtruction was remarkable. Not only the temple of their gods, but the houſes belonging to the monarch, and to perſons of diſtinction were, of ſuch dimenſions, that, in compariſon with any other buildings which had been diſcovered in America, they might be termed magnificent. The habitations

* F. Torribio MS.

tions of the common people were mean, reſembling the huts of other Indians. But they were all placed in a regular manner, on the banks of the canals which paſſed through the city, in ſome of its diſtricts, or on the ſides of the ſtreets which interſected it in other quarters. In ſeveral places were large openings or ſquares, one of which, allotted for the great market, is ſaid to have been ſo ſpacious, that forty or fifty thouſand perſons carried on traffic there. In this city, the pride of the New World, and the nobleſt monument of the induſtry and art of man, while unacquainted with the uſe of iron, and deſtitute of aid from any domeſtic animal, the Spaniards, who are moſt moderate in their computations, reckon that there were at leaſt ſixty thouſand inhabitants *.

Their dangerous ſituation.

But how much ſoever the novelty of thoſe objects might amuſe or aſtoniſh the Spaniards, they felt the utmoſt ſolicitude with reſpect to their own ſituation. From a concurrence of circumſtances no leſs unexpected than favourable to their progreſs, they had been allowed to penetrate into the heart of a powerful kingdom, and were now lodged in its capital, without having once met with open oppoſition from its monarch. The Tlaſcalans, however, had earneſtly diſſuaded them from placing ſuch confidence in Montezuma as to enter a city of ſuch a peculiar ſituation as Mexico, where that prince would have them at mercy, ſhut up as it were in a ſnare, from which it was impoſſible to eſcape. They aſſured him that the Mexican prieſts had, in the name of the gods, counſelled their ſovereign to admit the Spaniards into the capital, that he

* Cortes Relat. Ram. iii. 239. D. Relat. della gran citá de Mexico, par un Gentelhuomo del Corteſe. Ram. ibid. 304. E. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 14, &c.

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he might cut them off there at one blow with perfect ſecurity *. They now perceived, too plainly, that the apprehenſions of their allies were not deſtitute of foundation; that, by breaking the bridges placed at certain intervals on the cauſeways, or by deſtroying part of the cauſeways themſelves, their retreat would be rendered impracticable, and they muſt remain cooped up in the centre of a hoſtile city, ſurrounded by multitudes ſufficient to overwhelm them, and without a poſſibility of receiving aid from their allies. Montezuma had, indeed, received them with diſtinguiſhed reſpect. But ought they to reckon upon this as real, or to conſider it as feigned? Even if it were ſincere, could they promiſe on its continuance Their ſafety depended upon the will of a monarch in whoſe attachment they had no reaſon to confide; and an order flowing from his caprice, or a word uttered by him in paſſion, might decide irrevocably concerning their fate ‡.

Solicitude and perplexity of Cortes.

THESE reflections, ſo obvious as to occur to the meaneſt ſoldier, did not eſcape the vigilant ſagacity of their general. Before he ſet out from Cholula, Cortes had received advice from Villa Rica †, that Qualpopoca, one of the Mexican generals on the frontiers, having aſſembled an army in order to attack ſome of the people whom the Spaniards had encouraged to throw off the Mexican yoke, Eſcalante had marched out with part of the garriſon to ſupport his allies; that an engagement had enſued, in which, though the Spaniards were victorious, Eſcalante, with ſeven of his men, had been mortally wounded, his horſe killed, and one Spaniard had been ſurrounded by the enemy and taken alive; that the head of this unfortunate captive, after being

* B. Diaz. c. 85, 86. ‡ Ibid. c. 94. † Cortes Relat. Ram. iii. 235. C.

ing carried in triumph to different cities, in order to convince the people that their invaders were not immortal, had been ſent to Mexico *. Cortes, though alarmed with this intelligence, as an indication of Montezuma's hoſtile intentions, had continued his march. But as ſoon as he entered Mexico, he became ſenſible, that, from an exceſs of confidence in the ſuperior valour and diſcipline of his troops, as well as from the diſadvantage of having nothing to guide him in an unknown country, but the defective intelligence which he received from people with whom his mode of communication was very imperfect, he had puſhed forward into a ſituation, where it was difficult to continue, and from which it was dangerous to retire. Diſgrace, and perhaps ruin, was the certain conſequence of attempting the latter. The ſucceſs of his enterpriſe depended upon ſupporting the high opinion which the people of New Spain had formed with reſpect to the irreſiſtible power of his arms. Upon the firſt ſymptom of timidity on his part, their veneration would ceaſe, and Montezuma, whom fear alone reſtrained at preſent, would let looſe upon him the whole force of his empire. At the ſame time, he knew that the countenance of his own ſovereign was to be obtained only by a ſeries of victories, and that nothing but the merit of extraordinary ſucceſs could ſcreen his conduct from the cenſure of irregularity. From all theſe conſiderations, it was neceſſary to maintain his ſtation, and to extricate himſelf out of the difficulties in which one bold ſtep had involved him, by venturing upon another ſtill bolder. The ſituation was trying, but his mind was equal to it; and after revolving the matter with deep attention, he fixed upon a plan no leſs extraordinary than daring. He determined to ſeize Montezuma

* B. Diaz. c. 93. 94. Herrera, dec. 2 lib. viii. c. 1.

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1519. Resolves to seize Montezuma.

Montezuma in his palace, and to carry him as a priſoner to the Spaniſh quarters. From the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Mexicans for the perſon of their monarch, as well as their implicit ſubmiſſion to his will, he hoped, by having Montzeuma in his power, to acquire the ſupreme direction of their affairs; or at leaſt, with ſuch a ſacred pledge in his hands, he made no doubt of being ſecure from any effort of their violence.

His manner of executing this.

THIS he immediately propoſed to his officers. The timid ſtartled at a meaſure ſo audacious, and raiſed objections. The more intelligent and reſolute, conſcious that it was the only reſource in which there appeared any proſpect of ſafety, warmly approved of it, and brought over their companions ſo cordially to the ſame opinion, that it was agreed inſtantly to make the attempt. At his uſual hour of viſiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Saudoval, Lugo, Velaſquez de Leon, and Davila, five of his principal officers, and as many truſty ſoldiers. Thirty choſen men followed, not in regular order, but ſauntering at ſome diſtance, as if they had no object but curioſity; ſmall parties were poſted at proper intervals, in all the ſtreets leading from the Spaniſh quarters to the court; and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlaſcalan allies, were under arms, ready to ſally out on the firſt alarm. Cortes and his attendants were admitted without ſuſpicion; the Mexicans retiring, as uſual, out of reſpect. He addreſſed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had employed in former conferences, reproaching him bitterly as the author of the violent aſſault made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanded public reparation for the loſs which he had ſuſtained by the death of ſome of his companions

panions, as well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were. Montezuma, confounded at this unexpected accusation, and changing colour either from the consciousness of guilt, or from feeling the indignity with which he was treated, asserted his own innocence with great earnestness, and, as a proof it, gave orders instantly to bring Qualpopoca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied, with seeming complaisance, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt remaining in his own mind, but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbour hostile intentions against them, unless, as an evidence of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace, and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honoured as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange a proposal bereaved Montezuma of speech, and almost of motion. At length, indignation gave him utterance, and he haughtily answered, "That persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners, and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes, unwilling to employ force, endeavoured alternately to soothe and intimidate him. The altercation became warm; and having continued above three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, exclaimed with impatience, "Why waste more time in vain? Let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The threatening voice and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. The Spaniards, he was sensible, had now proceeded so far, as left him no hope that they would recede. His own danger was imminent, the

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the neceſſity unavoidable. He ſaw both, and abandoning himſelf to his fate, complied with their requeſt.

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Montezuma carried to the Spaniſh quarters.

His officers were called. He communicated to them his reſolution. Though aſtoniſhed and afflicted, they preſumed not to queſtion the will of their maſter, but carried him in ſilent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spaniſh quarters. When it was known that the ſtrangers were conveying away the emperor, the people broke out into the wildeſt tranſports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate deſtruction, as the puniſhment juſtly due to their impious audacity. But as ſoon as Montezuma appeared with a ſeeming gaiety of countenance, and waved his hand, the tumult was huſhed; and upon his declaring it to be of his own choice that he went to reſide for ſome time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every imitation of their ſovereign's pleaſure, quietly diſperſed *.

Thus was a powerful prince ſeized by a few ſtrangers, in the midſt of his capital, at noon-day, and carried off as a priſoner without oppoſition or bloodſhed. Hiſtory contains nothing parallel to this event, either with reſpect to the temerity of the attempt, or the ſucceſs of the execution; and were not all the circumſtances of this extraordinary tranſaction authenticated by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence, they would appear ſo wild and extravagant, as to go far beyond the bounds of that veriſimilitude which muſt be preſerved even in fictitious narrations.

Montezuma

* B. Diaz. c. 95. Gomara Cron. c. 83. Cortes Relat. Ram. iii. p. 235, 236. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 2, 3.

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MONTEZUMA was received in the Spaniſh quarters with all the ceremonious reſpect which Cortes had promiſed. He was attended by his own domeſtics, and ſerved with his uſual ſtate. His principal officers had free acceſs to him, and he carried on all the functions of government as if he had been at perfect liberty. The Spaniards, however, watched him with all the ſcrupulous vigilance natural in guarding ſuch an important prize *, endeavouring, at the ſame time, to ſooth and reconcile him to his ſituation, by every external demonſtration of regard and attachment. But from captive princes the hour of humiliation and ſuffering is never far diſtant. Qualpopoca, his ſon, and five of the principal officers who ſerved under him, were brought priſoners to the capital, in conſequence of the orders which Montezuma had iſſued. The emperor gave them up to Cortes, that he might inquire into the nature of their crime, and determine their puniſhment. They were formally tried by a Spaniſh court-martial; and though they had acted no other part than what became loyal ſubjects and brave men, in obeying the orders of their lawful ſovereign, and in oppoſing the invaders of their country, they were condemned to be burnt alive. The execution of ſuch atrocious deeds is ſeldom long ſuſpended. The unhappy victims were inſtantly led forth. The pile on which they were laid, was compoſed of the weapons collected in the royal magazine for the public defence. An innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in ſilent aſtoniſhment, the double inſult offered to the majeſty of their empire; an officer of diſtinction committed to the flames by the authority of ſtrangers, for having done what he owed in duty to his natural ſovereign; and the arms

Received with apparent reſpect.

Subjected to cruel indignities.

Dec. 4.

* See NOTE XIV.

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arms provided by the foreſight of their anceſtors for avenging ſuch wrongs, conſumed before their eyes.

But theſe were not the moſt ſhocking indignities which they had to bear. Cortes, convinced that Qualpopoca would not have ventured to attack Eſcalante without orders from his maſter, was not ſatisfied with inflicting vengeance on the inſtrument employed in committing that crime, while the author of it eſcaped with impunity. Juſt before Qualpopoca was led out to ſuffer, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, followed by ſome of his officers, and a ſoldier carrying a pair of fetters; and approaching the monarch with a ſtern countenance, told him, that as the perſons who were now to undergo the puniſhment which they merited, had charged him as the cauſe of the outrage committed, it was neceſſary that he likewiſe ſhould make atonement for that guilt; then turning away abruptly, without waiting for a reply, commanded the ſoldiers to clap the fetters on his legs. The orders were inſtantly executed. The diſconſolate monarch, trained up with an idea that his perſon was ſacred and inviolable, and conſidering this profanation of it as the prelude of immediate death, broke out into loud lamentations and complaints. His attendants, ſpeechleſs with horror, fell at his feet, bathing them with their tears; and bearing up the fetters in their hands, endeavoured with officious tenderneſs to lighten their preſſure. Nor did their grief and deſpondency abate, until Cortes returned from the execution with a cheerful countenance, and ordered the fetters to be taken off. As Montezuma's ſpirits had ſunk with unmanly dejection, they now roſe into indecent joy, and, with an unbecoming tranſition, he paſſed at once from the anguiſh

anguiſh of deſpair to tranſports of gratitude and fondneſs towards his deliverers. BOOK V.

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In thoſe tranſactions, as repreſented by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, we ſearch in vain for the qualities which diſtinguiſh other parts of Cortes's conduct. To uſurp a juriſdiction which could not belong to a ſtranger, who aſſumed no higher character than that of an ambaſſador from a foreign prince, and, under colour of it, to inflict a capital puniſhment on men whoſe conduct entitled them to eſteem, appears an act of barbarous cruelty. To put the monarch of a great kingdom in irons, and, after ſuch ignominious treatment, ſuddenly to releaſe him, ſeems to be a diſplay of power no leſs inconſiderate than wanton. According to their repreſentation, no account can be given either of the one action or the other, but that Cortes, intoxicated with ſucceſs, and preſuming on the aſcendant which he had acquired over the minds of the Mexicans, thought nothing too bold for him to undertake, or too dangerous to execute. But, in one view, theſe proceedings, however repugnant to juſtice and humanity, may have flowed from that artful policy which regulated every part of Cortes's behaviour. The Mexicans had conceived the Spaniards to be an order of beings ſuperior to men. It was of the utmoſt conſequence to cheriſh this illuſion, and to keep up the veneration it inſpired. Cortes wiſhed that ſhedding the blood of a Spaniard ſhould be deemed the moſt heinous of all crimes; and nothing appeared better calculated to eſtabliſh this opinion, than to condemn the firſt Mexicans who had ventured to commit it, to a cruel death, and to oblige their monarch himſelf to ſubmit to a mortifying indignity, as an expiation for being acceſſary to their guilt. †

Reaſons of Cortes's conduct.

THE

† See NOTE XV.

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THE rigour with which Cortes puniſhed the unhappy perſons who firſt preſumed to lay violent hands upon his followers, ſeems accordingly to have made all the impreſſion that he had deſired. The ſpirit of Montezuma was not only overawed, but ſubdued. During ſix months that Cortes remained in Mexico, the monarch continued in the Spaniſh quarters, with an appearance of as entire ſatisfaction and tranquillity, as if he had reſided there not from conſtraint, but through choice. His miniſters and officers attended him as uſual. He took cognizance of all affairs; every order was iſſued in his name. The external aſpect of government appearing the ſame, and all its ancient forms being ſcrupulouſly obſerved, the people were ſo little ſenſible of any change, that they obeyed the mandates of their monarch with the ſame ſubmiſſive reverence as ever. Such was the dread which both Montezuma and his ſubjects had of the Spaniards, or ſuch the veneration in which they held them, that no attempt was made to deliver their ſovereign from confinement; and though Cortes, relying on this aſcendant which he had acquired over their minds, permitted him not only to viſit his temples, but to make hunting excurſions beyond the lake, a guard of a few Spaniards carried with it ſuch terror as to intimidate the multitude, and ſecure the captive monarch *.

THUS, by the fortunate temerity of Cortes in ſeizing Montezuma, the Spaniards at once ſecured to themſelves more extenſive authority in the Mexican empire than it was poſſible to have acquired in a long courſe of time by open force; and they exerciſed more abſolute ſway in the name of another than they could have done in their own. The

* Cortes Relat. p. 236. E. B. Diaz. c. 97, 98, 99.

arts of poliſhed nations in ſubjecting ſuch as are leſs improved, have been nearly the ſame in every period. The ſyſtem of ſcreening a foreign uſurpation, under the ſanction of authority derived from the natural rulers of a country, the device of employing the magiſtrates and forms already eſtabliſhed as inſtruments to introduce a new dominion, of which we are apt to boaſt as ſublime refinements in policy peculiar to the preſent age, were inventions of a more early period, and had been tried with ſucceſs in the Weſt, long before they were practiſed in the Eaſt. 1520.

Uſe which he makes of it.

CORTES availed himſelf to the utmoſt of the power which he poſſeſſed by this means. He ſent ſome Spaniards, whom he judged beſt qualified for ſuch commiſſions, into different parts of the empire, accompanied by perſons of diſtinction, whom Montezuma appointed to attend them both as guides and protectors. They viſited moſt of the provinces, viewed their ſoil and productions, ſurveyed with particular care the diſtricts which yielded gold or ſilver, pitched upon ſeveral places as proper ſtations for future colonies, and endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people for ſubmitting to the Spaniſh yoke. While they were thus employed, Cortes, in the name and by the authority of Montezuma, degraded ſome of the principal officers in the empire, whoſe abilities or independent ſpirit excited his jealouſy, and ſubſtituted in their place perſons leſs capable or more obſequious.

ONE thing ſtill was wanting to complete his ſecurity. He wiſhed to have ſuch command of the lake as might enſure a retreat, if, either from levity or diſguſt, the Mexicans ſhould take arms againſt him, and break down the bridges or cauſeways. This too, his own addreſs, and the facility of Montezuma, enabled him to accompliſh. Having fre-

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quently entertained his priſoner with pompous accounts of the European marine and art of navigation, he awakened his curioſity to ſee thoſe moving palaces that made their way through the water without oars. Under pretext of gratifying his deſire, Cortes perſuaded him to appoint ſome of his ſubjects to fetch part of the naval ſtores depoſited at Vera Cruz to Mexico, and to employ others in cutting down and preparing timber. With their aſſiſtance the Spaniſh carpenters ſoon completed two brigantines, which afforded a frivolous amuſement to the monarch, and were conſidered by Cortes as a certain reſource, if he ſhould be obliged to retire.

Montezuma acknowledges himſelf a vaſſal of Spain.

ENCOURAGED by ſo many inſtances of the monarch's tame ſubmiſſion to his will, Cortes ventured to put it to a proof ſtill more trying. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of the king of Caſtile, to hold his crown of him as ſuperior, and to ſubject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requiſition, the laſt and moſt humbling that can be made to one poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority, Montezuma was ſo obſequious as to comply. He called together the chief men of his empire, and in a ſolemn harangue, reminded them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people ſprung from the ſame ſtock with themſelves, in order to take poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power, he declared his belief that the Spaniards were this promiſed race; that therefore he recognized the right of their monarch to govern the Mexican empire, would lay his crown at his feet, and obey him as a tributary. While uttering theſe words, Montezuma diſcovered how deeply he was affected in making ſuch a ſacrifice. Tears and groans frequently interrupted his diſcourſe. Overawed and broken as his ſpirit was, it ſtill retained ſuch a

ſenſe

ſenſe of dignity, as to feel that pang which pierces the heart of princes when conſtrained to reſign independent power. The firſt mention of ſuch a reſolution ſtruck the aſſembly dumb with aſtoniſhment. This was followed by a ſullen murmur of ſorrow mingled with indignation, which indicated ſome violent eruption of rage to be near at hand. This Cortes foreſaw, and ſeaſonably interpoſed to prevent it, by declaring that his maſter had no intention to deprive Montezuma of the royal dignity, or to make any innovation upon the conſtitution and laws of the Mexican empire. This aſſurance, added to their dread of the Spaniſh power, and to the authority of their monarch's example, extorted a reluctant conſent from the aſſembly *. The act of ſubmiſſion and homage was executed with all the formalities which the Spaniards were pleaſed to preſcribe †.

The amount of the treaſure collected by the Spaniards.

MONTEZUMA, at the deſire of Cortes, accompanied this profeſſion of fealty and homage with a magnificent preſent to his new ſovereign; and, after his example, his ſubjects brought in very liberal contributions. The Spaniards now collected all the treaſure which had been either voluntarily beſtowed upon them at different times by Montezuma, or had been extorted from his people under various pretexts; and having melted the gold and ſilver, the value of theſe, without including jewels and ornaments of various kinds, which were preſerved on account of their curious workmanſhip, amounted to ſix hundred thouſand *peſos*. The ſoldiers were impatient to have it divided, and Cortes complied with their deſire. A fifth of the whole was ſet apart as the tax due to the king. Another fifth was allotted to Cortes, as commander

Diviſion of it, and the diſcontent it occaſioned.

* See NOTE XVI. † Cortes Relat. 238 D. B. Diaz. c. 101. Gomara Cron. c. 92. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 4.

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in chief. The ſums advanced by Velaſquez, by Cortes, and by ſome of the officers, towards defraying the expence of fitting out the armament, were then deducted. The remainder was divided among the army, including the garriſon of Vera Cruz, in proportion to their different ranks. After ſo many defalcations, the ſhare of a private man did not exceed a hundred peſos. This ſum fell ſo far below their ſanguine expectations, that ſome ſoldiers rejected it with ſcorn, and others murmured ſo loudly at this cruel diſappointment of their hopes, that it required all the addreſs of Cortes, and no ſmall exertion of his liberality, to appeaſe them. The complaints of the army were not altogether deſtitute of foundation. As the crown had contributed nothing towards the equipment or ſucceſs of the armament, it was not without regret that the ſoldiers beheld it ſweep away ſo great a proportion of the treaſure purchaſed by their blood and toil. What fell to the ſhare of their general appeared, according to the ideas of wealth in the ſixteenth century, an enormous ſum. Some of Cortes's favourites had ſecretly appropriated to their own uſe ſeveral ornaments of gold, which neither paid the royal fifth, nor were brought into account as part of the common ſtock. It was, however, ſo manifeſtly the intereſt of Cortes at this period to make a large remittance to the king, that it is highly probable thoſe concealments were not of great conſequence.

Reaſons why gold was found in ſuch ſmall quantity.

THE total ſum amaſſed by the Spaniards bears no proportion to the ideas which might be formed, either by reflecting on the deſcriptions given by hiſtorians of the ancient ſplendour of Mexico, or by conſidering the productions of its mines in modern times. But, among the ancient Mexicans, gold and ſilver were not the ſtandards by which the

the worth of other commodities was eſtimated; and deſtitute of the artificial value derived from this circumſtance, were no farther in requeſt than as they furniſhed materials for ornaments and trinkets. Theſe were either conſecrated to the gods in their temples, or were worn as marks of diſtinction by their princes and ſome of their moſt eminent chiefs. As the conſumption of the precious metals was inconſiderable, the demand for them was not ſuch as to put either the ingenuity or induſtry of the Mexicans on the ſtretch, in order to augment their ſtore. They were altogether unacquainted with the art of working the rich mines with which the country abounded. What gold they had was gathered in the beds of rivers, native, and ripened into a pure metallic ſtate *. The utmoſt effort of their labour in ſearch of it was to waſh the earth carried down by torrents from the mountains, and to pick out the grains of gold which ſubſided; and even this ſimple operation, according to the report of the perſons whom Cortes appointed to ſurvey the provinces where there was a proſpect of finding mines, they performed very unſkilfully †. From all thoſe cauſes, the whole maſs of gold in poſſeſſion of the Mexicans was not great. As ſilver is rarely found pure, and their art was too rude to conduct the proceſs for refining it in a proper manner, the quantity of this metal was ſtill leſs conſiderable ‡. Thus, though the Spaniards had exerted all the power which they poſſeſſed in Mexico, and often with indecent rapacity, in order to gratify their predominant paſſion, and though Montezuma had fondly exhauſted his ſtores, in hopes of ſatiating their thirſt for gold, the product of both, which probably included a great part of the bullion in the empire, did not riſe in value above what has been mentioned §.

BUT

* Cortes Relat. p. 236. F. B. Diaz. c. 102, 103. Gomara Chron. c. 90. † B. Diaz c. 103. ‡ Herrera, dec. 2. lib. ix. c. 4. § See NOTE XVII.

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Montezuma inflexible with reſpect to religion.

But however pliant Montezuma might be in other matters, with reſpect to one point he was inflexible. Though Cortes often urged him, with the importunate zeal of a miſſionary, to renounce his falſe gods, and to embrace the Chriſtian faith, he always rejected the propoſition with horror. Superſtition, among the Mexicans, was formed into ſuch a regular and complete ſyſtem, that its inſtitutions naturally took faſt hold of the mind; and while the rude tribes in other parts of America were eaſily induced to relinquiſh a few notions and rites, ſo looſe and arbitrary as hardly to merit the name of a public religion, the Mexicans adhered tenaciouſly to their mode of worſhip, which, however barbarous, was accompanied with ſuch order and ſolemnity as to render it the object of veneration. Cortes, finding all his attempts ineffectual to ſhake the conſtancy of Montezuma, was ſo much enraged at his obſtinacy, that in a tranſport of zeal he led out his ſoldiers to throw down the idols in the great temple by force. But the prieſts taking arms in defence of their altars, and the people crowding with great ardour to ſupport them, Cortes's prudence overruled his zeal, and induced him to deſiſt from his raſh attempt, after diſlodging the idols from one of the ſhrines, and placing in their ſtead an image of the Virgin Mary *.

Schemes of the Mexicans to deſtroy the Spaniards.

From that moment the Mexicans, who had permitted the impriſonment of their ſovereign, and ſuffered the exactions of ſtrangers without a ſtruggle, began to meditate how they might expel or deſtroy the Spaniards, and thought themſelves called upon to avenge their inſulted deities. The prieſts and leading men held frequent conſultations with

* See NOTE XVIII.

with Montezuma for this purpoſe. But as it might prove fatal to the captive monarch to attempt either the one or the other by violence, he was willing to try more gentle means. Having called Cortes into his preſence, he obſerved that now, as all the purpoſes of his embaſſy were fully accompliſhed, the gods had declared their will, and the people ſignified their deſire, that he and his followers ſhould inſtantly depart out of the empire. With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable deſtruction would fall ſuddenly on their heads. The tenor of this unexpected requiſition, as well as the determined tone in which it was uttered, left Cortes no room to doubt that it was the reſult of ſome deep ſcheme concerted between Montezuma and his ſubjects. He quickly perceived that he might derive more advantage from a ſeeming compliance with the monarch's inclination, than from an ill-timed attempt to change or to oppoſe it, and replied, with great compoſure, that he had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country; but as he had deſtroyed the veſſels in which he arrived, ſome time was requiſite for building other ſhips. This appeared reaſonable. A number of Mexicans were ſent to Vera Cruz to cut down timber, and ſome Spaniſh carpenters were appointed to ſuperintend the work. Cortes flattered himſelf that, during this interval, he might either find means to avert the threatened danger, or receive ſuch reinforcements as would enable him to deſpiſe it.

Anxiety and danger of Cortes.

ALMOST nine months were elapſed ſince Portocarrero and Montejo had ſailed with his diſpatches to Spain; and he daily expected their return with a confirmation of his authority from the king. Without this, his condition was inſecure and precarious, and after all the great things which he had done, it might be his doom to bear the name and

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and ſuffer the puniſhment of a traitor. Rapid and extenſive as his progreſs had been, he could not hope to complete the reduction of a great empire with ſo ſmall a body of men, which by this time the diſeaſes of the climate had conſiderably thinned; nor could he apply for recruits to the Spaniſh ſettlements in the iſlands until he received the royal approbation of his proceedings.

The arrival of a new armament,

WHILE he remained in this cruel ſituation, anxious about what was paſt, uncertain with reſpect to the future, and, by the late declaration of Montezuma, oppreſſed with a new addition of cares, a Mexican courier arrived with an account of ſome ſhips having appeared on the coaſt. Cortes, with fond credulity, imagining that his meſſengers were returned from Spain, and that the completion of all his wiſhes and hopes was at hand, imparted the glad tidings to his companions, who received them with tranſports of mutual gratulation. Their joy was not of long continuance. A courier from Sandoval, whom Cortes had appointed to ſucceed Eſcalante in command at Vera Cruz, brought certain information that the armament was fitted out by Velaſquez, governor of Cuba, and, inſtead of bringing the aid which they expected, threatened them with immediate deſtruction,

fitted out by Velaſquez.

THE motives which prompted Velaſquez to this violent meaſure are obvious. From the circumſtances of Cortes's departure, it was impoſſible not to ſuſpect his intention of throwing off all dependence upon him. His neglecting to tranſmit any account of his operations to Cuba, ſtrengthened this ſuſpicion, which was at laſt confirmed, beyond doubt, by the indiſcretion of the officers whom Cortes ſent to Spain. They, from ſome motive, which is not clearly explained by the contemporary hiſtorians,

hiſtorians, touched at the iſland of Cuba, contrary to the peremptory orders of their general *. By this means Velaſquez not only learned that Cortes and his followers, after formally renouncing all connection with him, had eſtabliſhed an independent colony in New Spain, and were ſoliciting the king to confirm their proceedings by his authority; but he obtained particular information concerning the opulence of the country, the valuable preſents which Cortes had received, and the inviting proſpects of ſucceſs that opened to his view. Every paſſion which can agitate an ambitious mind; ſhame, at having been ſo groſsly over-reached; indignation at being being betrayed by the man whom he had ſelected as the object of his favour and confidence; grief, for having waſted his fortune to aggrandize an enemy; and deſpair of recovering ſo fair an opportunity of eſtabliſhing his fame and extending his power, now raged in the boſom of Velaſquez. All theſe, with united force, excited him to make an extraordinary effort in order to be avenged on the author of his wrongs, and to reſt from him his uſurped authority and conqueſts. Nor did he want the appearance of a good title to juſtify ſuch an attempt. The agent whom he ſent to Spain with an account of Grijalva's voyage had met with a moſt favourable reception; and from the ſpecimens which he produced, ſuch high expectations were formed concerning the opulence of New Spain, that Velaſquez was authoriſed to proſecute the diſcovery of the country, and appointed governor of it during life, with more extenſive power and privileges than had been granted to any adventurer from the time of Columbus †. Elated by this diſtinguiſhing mark of favour, and warranted to conſider Cortes not only as intruding upon his juriſdiction,

* B. Diaz. c. 54, 55. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 14. Gomara Cron. c. 96. † Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iii. c. 11.

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tion, but as disobedient to the royal mandate, he determined to vindicate his own rights and the honour of his sovereign by force of arms *. His ardour in carrying on his preparations was such as might have been expected from the violence of the passions with which he was animated; and in a short time an armament was completed, consisting of eighteen ships which had on board fourscore horsemen, eight hundred foot soldiers, of which eighty were musketeers, and a hundred and twenty cross-bow men, together with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. As Velasquez's experience of the fatal consequence of committing to another what he ought to have executed himself, had not rendered him more enterprising, he vested the command of this formidable body, which, in the infancy of the Spanish power in America, merits the appellation of an army, in Pamphilo de Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, to send them prisoners to him, and then to complete the discovery and conquest of the country in his name.

1520. Under the command of Narvaez.

After a prosperous voyage, Narvaez landed his men without opposition near St. Juan de Ullua. Three soldiers, whom Cortes had sent to search for mines in that district, immediately joined him. By this accident, he not only received information concerning the progress and situation of Cortes, but as these soldiers had made some progress in the knowledge of the Mexican language, he acquired interpreters, by whose means he was enabled to hold some intercourse with the people of the country. But, according to the low cunning of deserters, they framed their intelligence with more attention to what they thought would be agreeable, than to what they knew to be true; and

The proceedings of Narvaez. April.

* See NOTE XIX.

and repreſented the ſituation of Cortes to be ſo deſperate, and the diſaffection of his followers to be ſo general, as increaſed the natural preſumption and confidence of Narvaez. His firſt operation, however, might have taught him not to rely on their partial accounts. Having ſent to ſummon the governor of Vera Cruz to ſurrender Guevara, a prieſt whom he employed in that ſervice, made the requiſition with ſuch inſolence, that Sandoval, an officer of high ſpirit, and zealouſly attached to Cortes, inſtead of complying with his demands, ſeized him and his attendants, and ſent them in chains to Mexico.

Cortes deeply alarmed.

CORTES received them not like enemies, but as friends, and condemning the ſeverity of Sandoval, ſet them immediately at liberty. By this well-timed clemency, ſeconded by careſſes and preſents, he gained their confidence, and drew from them ſuch particulars concerning the force and intentions of Narvaez, as gave him a view of the impending danger in its full extent. He had not to contend now with half-naked Indians, no match for him in war, and ſtill more inferior in the arts of policy, but to take the field againſt an army in courage and martial diſcipline equal to his own, in number far ſuperior, acting under the ſanction of royal authority, and commanded by an officer of known bravery. He was informed that Narvaez, more ſolicitous to gratify the reſentment of Velaſquez, than attentive to the honour or intereſt of his country, had begun his intercourſe with the natives, by repreſenting him and his followers as fugitives and outlaws, guilty of rebellion againſt their own ſovereign, and of injuſtice in invading the Mexican empire, and had declared to them that his ſole object in viſiting the country was to puniſh the Spaniards, and to reſcue them from oppreſſion. He ſoon perceived that the ſame unfavourable

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vourable repreſentations had been conveyed to Montezuma, and that Narvaez had found means to aſſure him, that as the conduct of thoſe who kept him under reſtraint was highly diſpleaſing to the king his maſter, he had it in charge not only to reſcue an injured monarch from confinement, but to reinſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his antient power and independence. Animated with this proſpect of being ſet free from ſubjection to ſtrangers, the provinces began openly to revolt from Cortes, and to regard Narvaez as a deliverer no leſs able than willing to ſave them. Montezuma himſelf kept up a ſecret intercourſe with the new commander, and ſeemed to court him as a perſon ſuperior in power and dignity to thoſe Spaniards whom he had hitherto revered as the firſt of men *.

His deliberations concerning his own conduct.

SUCH were the various aſpects of danger and difficulty which preſented themſelves to the view of Cortes. No ſituation can be conceived more trying to the capacity and firmneſs of a general, or where the choice of the plan which ought to be adopted was more difficult. If he ſhould wait the approach of Narvaez in Mexico, deſtruction ſeemed to be unavoidable; for while the Spaniards preſſed him from without, the inhabitants, whoſe turbulent ſpirit he could hardly reſtrain with all his authority and attention, would eagerly lay hold on ſuch a favourable opportunity of avenging all their wrongs. If he ſhould aband on the capital, ſet the captive monarch at liberty, and march out to meet the enemy, he muſt at once forego the fruits of all his toils and victories, and relinquiſh advantages which could not be recovered without extraordinary efforts, and infinite danger. If, inſtead of employing force, he ſhould have recourſe

* See NOTE XX.

courſe to conciliating meaſures, and attempt an accommodation with Narvaez; the natural haughtineſs of that officer, augmented by conſciouſneſs of his preſent ſuperiority, forbad him to cheriſh any ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. After revolving every ſcheme with deep attention, Cortes fixed upon that which, in execution was moſt hazardous, but, if ſucceſsful, would prove moſt beneficial to his country; and with the deciſive intrepidity, ſuited to deſperate ſituations, determined to make one bold effort for victory, under every diſadvantage, rather than ſacrifice his own conqueſts and the Spaniſh intereſt in Mexico.

His negociations with the followers of Narvaez.

But though he foreſaw that the conteſt muſt be terminated finally by arms, it would have been not only indecent, but criminal, to have marched againſt his countrymen, without attempting to adjuſt matters by an amicable negociation. In this ſervice he employed Olmedo, his chaplain, to whoſe character the function was well ſuited, and who poſſeſſed, beſides, ſuch prudence and addreſs as qualified him to carry on the ſecret intrigues in which Cortes placed his chief confidence. Narvaez rejected, with ſcorn, every ſcheme of accommodation that Olmedo propoſed, and was with difficulty reſtrained from laying violent hands on him and his attendants. He met, however, with a more favourable reception among his followers, to many of whom he delivered letters, either from Cortes or his officers, their ancient friends and companions. Cortes artfully accompanied theſe with preſents of rings, chains of gold, and other trinkets of value, which inſpired thoſe needy adventurers with high ideas of the wealth that he had acquired, and with envy of their good fortune who were engaged in his ſervice. Some, from hopes of becoming ſharers in thoſe rich ſpoils, declared

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clared for an immediate accommodation with Cortes. Others, from public ſpirit, laboured to prevent a civil war, which, whatever party ſhould prevail, muſt ſhake, and perhaps ſubvert the Spaniſh power, in a country where it was ſo imperfectly eſtabliſhed. Narvaez diſregarded both, and by a public proclamation denounced Cortes and his adherents rebels and enemies to their country. Cortes, it is probable, was not much ſurpriſed at the untractable arrogance of Narvaez; and, after having given ſuch a proof of his own pacific diſpoſition as might juſtify his recourſe to other means, he determined to advance towards an enemy whom he had laboured in vain to appeaſe.

Marches againſt him. May.

He left an hundred and fifty men in the capital, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, an officer of diſtinguiſhed courage, for whom the Mexicans had conceived a ſingular degree of reſpect. To the cuſtody of this ſlender garriſon he committed a great city, with all the wealth he had amaſſed, and, what was ſtill of greater importance, the perſon of the impriſoned monarch. His utmoſt art was employed in concealing from Montezuma the real cauſes of his march. He laboured to perſuade him, that the ſtrangers who had lately arrived were his friends and fellow-ſubjects; and that, after a ſhort interview with them, they would depart together, and return to their own country. The captive prince, unable to comprehend the deſigns of the Spaniards, or to reconcile what he now heard with the declarations of Narvaez, and afraid to diſcover any ſymptom of ſuſpicion or diſtruſt of Cortes, promiſed to remain quietly in the Spaniſh quarters, and to cultivate the ſame friendſhip with Alvarado which he had uniformly maintained with him. Cortes, with ſeeming confidence in this promiſe, but relying principally upon the injunctions which he had given

Alvarado

Alvarado to guard his priſoner with the moſt ſcrupulous vigilance, ſet out from Mexico. BOOK V.

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His ſtrength, even after it was reinforced by the junction of Sandoval and the garriſon of Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. As he hoped for ſucceſs chiefly from the rapidity of his motions, his troops were not encumbered either with baggage or artillery. But as he dreaded extremely the impreſſion which the enemy might make with their cavalry, he had provided againſt this danger with the foreſight and ſagacity which diſtinguiſh a great commander. Having obſerved that the Indians in the province of Chinantla uſed ſpears of extraordinary length and force, he armed his ſoldiers with theſe, and accuſtomed them to that deep and compact arrangement which the uſe of this formidable weapon, the beſt perhaps that ever was invented for defence, enabled them to aſſume. Number of his troops.

With this ſmall but firm battalion Cortes advanced towards Zempoalla, of which Narvaez had taken poſſeſſion. During his march he made repeated attempts towards ſome accommodation with his opponent. But Narvaez requiring that Cortes and his followers ſhould inſtantly recognize his title to be governor of New Spain, in virtue of the powers which he derived from Velaſquez, and Cortes refuſing to ſubmit to any authority which was not founded on a commiſſion from the emperor himſelf, under whoſe immediate protection he and his adherents had placed their infant colony, all theſe attempts proved fruitleſs. The intercourſe, however, which this occaſioned between the two parties, proved of no ſmall advantage to Cortes, as it afforded him an opportunity of gaining ſome of Narvaez's officers by liberal preſents, of ſoftening others by a ſemblance of moderation, and of dazzling all by Continues to negotiate as he advanced.

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by the appearance of wealth among his troops, moſt of his ſoldiers having converted their ſhare of the Mexican gold into chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, which they diſplayed with military oſtentation. Narvaez and a little junto of his creatures excepted, all the army leaned towards an accommodation with their countrymen. This diſcovery of their inclination irritated his violent temper almoſt to madneſs. In a tranſport of rage he ſet a price upon the head of Cortes, and of his principal officers; and having learned that he was now advanced within a league of Zempoalla with his ſmall body of men, he conſidered this as an inſult which merited immediate chaſtiſement, and marched out with all his troops to offer him battle.

Attacks Narvaez in the night.

BUT Cortes was a leader of greater abilities and experience than to fight an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number, and ſo much better appointed, on equal ground. Having taken his ſtation on the oppoſite bank of the river de Canoas, where he knew that he could not be attacked, he beheld the approach of the enemy without concern, and diſregarded this vain bravade. It was then the beginning of the wet ſeaſon *, and the rain had poured down, during a great part of the day, with the violence peculiar to the torrid zone. The followers of Narvaez, unaccuſtomed to the hardſhips of military ſervice, murmured ſo much at being thus fruitleſsly expoſed, that from their unſoldier-like impatience, as well as his own contempt of his adverſary, their general permitted them to retire to Zempoalla. The very circumſtance which induced them to quit the field, engaged Cortes to form a ſcheme, by which he hoped at once to terminate the war. He obſerved, that his hardy veterans, though

* Hackluyt, vol. iii. 467. De Laet Deſcr. Ind. Occid. 221

though ſtanding under the torrents, which continued to fall, without a ſingle tent or any ſhelter whatſoever to cover them, were ſo far from repining at hardſhips that were become familiar to them, that they were ſtill freſh and alert for ſervice. He foreſaw that the enemy would naturally give themſelves up to repoſe after their fatigue, and that, judging of the conduct of others by their own effeminacy, they would deem themſelves perfectly ſecure at a ſeaſon ſo unfit for action. He reſolved, therefore, to fall upon them in the dead of night, when the ſurpriſe and terror of this unexpected attack might more than compenſate the inferiority of his numbers. His ſoldiers, ſenſible that no reſource remained but in ſome deſperate effort of courage, approved of the meaſure with ſuch warmth, that Cortes in a military oration which he addreſſed to them before they began their march, was more ſolicitous to temper than to inflame their ardour. He divided them into three parties. At the head of firſt he placed Sandoval; entruſting this gallant officer with the moſt dangerous and important ſervice, that of ſeizing the enemy's artillery, which was planted before the principal tower of the temple, where Narvaez had fixed his head-quarters. Chriſtoval de Olid commanded the ſecond, with orders to aſſault the tower, and lay hold on the general. Cortes himſelf conducted the third and ſmalleſt diviſion, which was to act as a body of reſerve, and to ſupport the other two as there ſhould be occaſion. Having paſſed the river de Canoas, which was much ſwelled with the rain, not without difficulty, the water reaching almoſt to their chins, they advanced in profound ſilence, without beat of drum, or ſound of any warlike inſtrument; each man armed with his ſword, his dagger, and his Chinantlan ſpear. Narvaez, remiſs in proportion to his ſecurity, had poſted only two centinels to

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watch the motions of an enemy whom he had ſuch good cauſe to dread. One of theſe was ſeized by the advanced guard of Cortes's troops, the other made his eſcape, and hurrying to the town with all the precipitation of fear and zeal, gave ſuch timely notice of the enemy's approach, that there was full leiſure to have prepared for their reception. But, through the arrogance and infatuation of Narvaez, this important interval was loſt. He imputed this alarm to the cowardice of the centinel, and treated with deriſion the idea of being attacked by forces ſo unequal to his own. The ſhouts of Cortes's ſoldiers, ruſhing on to the aſſault, convinced him at laſt, that the danger which he deſpiſed was real. The rapidity with which they advanced was ſuch, that only one cannon could be fired, before Sandoval's party cloſed with the enemy, drove them from their guns, and began to force their way up the ſteps of the tower. Narvaez, no leſs brave in action than preſumptuous in conduct, armed himſelf in haſte, and by his voice and example animated his men to the combat. Olid advanced to ſuſtain his companions; and Cortes himſelf, ruſhing to the front, conducted and added new vigour to the attack.

and overcomes him.

The compact order in which this ſmall body preſſed on, and the impenetrable front which they preſented with their long ſpears, bore down all oppoſition before it. They had now reached the gate, and were ſtruggling to burſt it open, when a ſoldier having ſet fire to the reeds with which the tower was covered, compelled Narvaez to ſally out. In the firſt encounter he was wounded in the eye with a ſpear, and falling to the ground, was dragged down the ſteps and in a moment clapt in fetters. The cry of victory reſounded among the troops of Cortes. Thoſe who had ſallied out with their leader now maintained the conflict feebly, or began to ſurrender. Among the remainder of his ſoldiers, ſtationed in two ſmaller

ſmaller towers of the temple, terror and confuſion prevailed. The darkneſs was ſo great that they could not diſtinguiſh between their friends and foes. Their own artillery was pointed againſt them. Wherever they turned their eyes, they beheld lights gleaming through the obſcurity of night, which, though proceeding only from a variety of ſhining inſects, that abound in moiſt and ſultry climates, their affrighted imaginations repreſented as numerous bands of muſketeers advancing with kindled matches to the attack. After a ſhort reſiſtance, the ſoldiers compelled their officers to capitulate, and before morning all laid down their arms, and ſubmitted quietly to their conquerors.

The effects of this victory.

THIS complete victory proved more acceptable, as it was gained almoſt without bloodſhed, only two ſoldiers being killed on the ſide of Cortes, and two officers with fifteen private men of the adverſe faction. Cortes treated the vanquiſhed not like enemies, but as countrymen and friends, and offered either to ſend them back directly to Cuba, or to take them into his ſervice, as partners in his fortune, on equal terms with his own ſoldiers. This latter propoſition, ſeconded by a ſeaſonable diſtribution of ſome preſents from Cortes, and liberal promiſes of more, opened proſpects ſo agreeable to the romantic expectations which had induced them to engage in this ſervice, that all, a few partizans of Narvaez excepted, cloſed with it, and vied with each other in profeſſions of fidelity and attachment to a general whoſe recent ſucceſs had given them ſuch a ſtriking proof of his abilities for command. Thus, by a ſeries of events no leſs fortunate than uncommon, Cortes not only eſcaped from perdition which ſeemed inevitable, but, when he had leaſt reaſon to expect it, was placed at the head of a thouſand Spaniards, ready to follow wherever he ſhould lead them.

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Whoever reflects upon the facility with which this victory was obtained, or conſiders with what ſudden and unanimous tranſition the followers of Narvaez ranged themſelves under the ſtandard of his rival, will be apt to aſcribe both events as much to the intrigues as to the arms of Cortes, and cannot but ſuſpect that the ruin of Narvaez was occaſioned, no leſs by the treachery of his own followers, than by the valour of his enemy *.

The Mexicans take arms againſt the Spaniards.

But, in one point, the prudent conduct and good fortune of Cortes were equally conſpicuous. If, by the rapidity of his operations after he began his march, he had not brought matters to ſuch a ſpeedy iſſue, even this deciſive victory would have come too late to have ſaved his companions whom he left in Mexico. A few days after the diſcomfiture of Narvaez, a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and having ſeized and deſtroyed the two brigantines, which he had built in order to ſecure the command of the lake, had attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed ſeveral of them and wounded more, had reduced to aſhes their magazine of proviſions, and carried on hoſtilities with ſuch fury, that, though Alvarado and his men defended themſelves with undaunted reſolution, they muſt either be ſoon cut off by famine, or ſink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it ſtill more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Zempoalla, the Mexicans flattered themſelves that the long-expected opportunity of reſtoring their ſovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of ſtrangers was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppreſſors were divided, and the arms of

* Cortes Relat. 242. D. B. Diaz. c. 110.—125. Herera, dec. 2. lib. ix. c. 18, &c. Gomara Cron. c. 97, &c.

1520.

one party turned againſt the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Conſultations were held, and ſchemes formed with this intention. The Spaniards in Mexico, conſcious of their own feebleneſs, ſuſpected and dreaded thoſe machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, poſſeſſed neither that extent of capacity, nor dignity of manners, by which Cortes had acquired ſuch an aſcendant over the minds of the Mexicans, as never allowed them to form a juſt eſtimate of his weakneſs or of their own ſtrength. Alvarado knew no mode of ſupporting his authority but force. Inſtead of employing addreſs to diſconcert the plans or to ſooth the ſpirits of the Mexicans, he waited the return of one of their ſolemn feſtivals, when the principal perſons in the empire were dancing, according to cuſtom, in the court of the great temple; he ſeized all the avenues which led to it, and, allured partly by the rich ornaments which they wore in honour of their gods, and partly by the facility of cutting off at once the authors of that conſpiracy which he dreaded, he fell upon them, unarmed and unſuſpicious of any danger, and maſſacred a great number, none eſcaping but ſuch as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action ſo cruel and treacherous filled not only the city, but the whole empire, with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardleſs of the ſafety of their monarch, whoſe life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in aſſaulting an enemy who had been ſo long the object of their terror, they committed all thoſe acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

He marches back to the capital.

To him the danger appeared ſo imminent, as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He ſet out inſtantly with all his forces, and returned from Zempoalla with no leſs rapidity than he had advanced

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vanced thither. At Tlaſcala he was joined by two thouſand choſen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found that diſaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deſerted the towns through which he paſſed; no perſon of note appearing to meet him with the uſual reſpect; no proviſion was made for the ſubſiſtence of his troops; and though he was permitted to advance without oppoſition, the ſolitude and ſilence which reigned in every place, and the horror with which the people avoided all intercourſe with him, diſcovered a deep-rooted antipathy, that excited the moſt juſt alarm. But, implacable as the enmity of the Mexicans was, they were ſo unacquainted with the ſcience of war, that they knew not how to take the proper meaſures, either for their own ſafety or the deſtruction of the Spaniards. Uninſtructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, inſtead of breaking down the cauſeways and bridges, by which they might have incloſed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually ſtopt the career of Cortes, they again ſuffered him to march into the city without moleſtation, and to take quiet poſſeſſion of his ancient ſtation.

June 24.

Improper conduct of Cortes.

THE tranſports of joy with which Alvarado and his ſoldiers received their companions cannot be expreſſed. Both parties were ſo much elated, the one with their ſeaſonable deliverance, and the other with the great exploits which they had atchieved, that this intoxication of ſucceſs ſeems to have ſo far reached Cortes himſelf, that he behaved on this occaſion neither with his uſual ſagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to viſit Montezuma, but embittered the inſult by expreſſions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people. The forces of which he had now the command,

command, appeared to him so irresistible, that he might assume an higher tone, and lay aside the mask of moderation, under which he had hitherto concealed his designs. Some Mexicans, who understood the Spanish language, heard the contemptuous words which Cortes uttered, and reporting them to their countrymen, kindled their rage anew. They were now convinced that the intentions of the general were equally bloody with those of Alvarado, and that his original purpose in visiting their country, had not been, as he pretended, to court the alliance of their sovereign, but to attempt the conquest of his dominions. They resumed their arms with the additional fury which this discovery inspired, attacked a considerable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great square in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with some loss. Emboldened by this success, and delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced next day with extraordinary martial pomp to assault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage still more so. Though the artillery pointed against their numerous battalions, crouded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge; though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuosity of the assault did not abate. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager on vengeance. The utmost efforts of Cortes's abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valour of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend their fortifications, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

The violent hostility of the Mexicans.

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1520. Diſtreſs of the Spaniards.

CORTES beheld, with wonder, the implacable ferocity of a people, who ſeemed at firſt to ſubmit tamely to the yoke, and had continued ſo long paſſive under it. The ſoldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to ſhare in the ſpoils of a conquered empire, were aſtoniſhed to find that they were involved in a dangerous war, with an enemy whoſe vigour was ſtill unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakneſs, in giving ſuch eaſy credit to the deluſive promiſes of their new leader *. But ſurpriſe and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was requiſite to extricate themſelves out of their preſent ſituation. As ſoon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance with their national cuſtom of ceaſing from hoſtilities with the ſetting ſun, Cortes began to prepare for a ſally, with ſuch a conſiderable force, as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to liſten to terms of accommodation.

Cortes attacks them without ſucceſs.

HE conducted, in perſon, the troops deſtined for this important ſervice. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution, ſuggeſted by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting, were employed to enſure ſucceſs. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppoſe him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by freſh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animoſity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their prieſts, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods, and in preſence of their wives and children. Notwith-

* B. Diaz. c. 126.

withſtanding their numbers, and enthuſiaſtic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could cloſe with them, the ſuperiority of their diſcipline and arms obliged them to give way. But in narrow ſtreets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, they could ſeldom come to a fair rencounter, and the Spaniards, as they advanced, were expoſed to ſhowers of arrows and ſtones from the tops of the houſes. After a day of inceſſant exertion, though vaſt numbers of the Mexicans fell, and part of the city was burnt, the Spaniards, weary with the ſlaughter, and haraſſed by multitudes which ſucceſſively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accompliſhed nothing ſo deciſive as to compenſate the unuſual calamity of twelve ſoldiers killed, and above ſixty wounded. Another ſally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himſelf was wounded in the hand.

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CORTES now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was ſatisfied that he could neither maintain his preſent ſtation in the centre of an hoſtile city, nor retire from it without the moſt imminent danger. One reſource ſtill remained, to try what effect the interpoſition of Montezuma might have to ſooth or overawe his ſubjects. When the Mexicans approached next morning to renew the aſſault, that unfortunate prince, at the mercy of the Spaniards, and reduced to the ſad neceſſity of becoming the inſtrument of his own diſgrace, and of the ſlavery of his people †, advanced to the battlements in his royal

Montezuma ſlain.

† See NOTE XXI.

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royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he uſed to appear on ſolemn occaſions. At ſight of their ſovereign, whom they had long been accuſtomed to honour, and almoſt to revere as a god, the weapons dropt from their hands, every tongue was ſilent, all bowed their heads, and many proſtrated themſelves on the ground. Montezuma addreſſed them with every argument that could mitigate their rage, or perſuade them to ceaſe from hoſtilities. When he ended his diſcourſe, a ſullen murmur of diſapprobation run through the crowd; to this ſucceeded reproaches and threats; and their fury riſing in a moment above every reſtraint of decency or reſpect, flights of arrows and volleys of ſtones poured in ſo violently upon the ramparts, that before the Spaniſh ſoldiers, appointed to cover Montezuma with their bucklers, had time to lift them in his defence, two arrows wounded the unhappy monarch, and the blow of a ſtone on his temple ſtruck him to the ground. On ſeeing him fall, the Mexicans were ſo much aſtoniſhed, that, with a tranſition not uncommon in popular tumults, they paſſed in a moment from one extreme to the other, remorſe ſucceeded to inſult, and they fled with horror, as if the vengeance of Heaven were purſuing the crime which they had committed. The Spaniards, without moleſtation, carried Montezuma to his apartments, and Cortes haſtened thither to conſole him under his misfortune. But the unhappy monarch now perceived how low he was ſunk; and the haughty ſpirit which ſeemed to have been ſo long extinct, returning, he ſcorned to ſurvive this laſt humiliation, and to protract an ignominious life, not only as the priſoner and tool of his enemies, but as the object of contempt or deteſtation among his ſubjects. In a tranſport of rage he tore the bandages from his wounds, and refuſed, with ſuch obſtinacy, to take any nouriſhment,

ment, that he ſoon ended his wretched days, rejecting with diſdain all the ſolicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Chriſtian faith. BOOK V.

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Upon the death of Montezuma, Cortes having loſt all hope of bringing the Mexicans to any accommodation, ſaw no proſpect of ſafety but in attempting a retreat, and began to prepare for it. But a ſudden motion of the Mexicans engaged him in new conflicts. They took poſſeſſion of a high tower in the great temple which overlooked the Spaniſh quarters, and placing there a garriſon of their principal warriors, not a Spaniard could ſtir without being expoſed to their miſſile weapons. From this poſt it was neceſſary to diſlodge them at any riſk; and Juan de Eſcobar, with a numerous detachment of choſen ſoldiers, was ordered to make the attack. But Eſcobar, though a gallant officer, and at the head of troops accuſtomed to conquer, and who now fought under the eyes of their countrymen, was thrice repulſed. Cortes, ſenſible that not only the reputation but the ſafety of his army depended on the ſucceſs of this aſſault, ordered a buckler to be tied to his arm, as he could not manage it with his wounded hand, and ruſhed with his drawn ſword into the thickeſt of the combatants. Encouraged by the preſence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with ſuch vigour, that they gradually forced their way up the ſteps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower. There a dreadful carnage began, when two young Mexicans of high rank, obſerving Cortes as he animated his ſoldiers by his voice and example, reſolved to ſacrifice their own lives in order to cut off the author of all the calamities which deſolated their country. They approached him in a ſupplicant poſture, as if they had intended to lay down their arms, and ſeizing

New conflicts.

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seizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themselves headlong, in hopes of dragging him along to be dashed in pieces by the same fall. But Cortes, by his strength and agility, broke lose from their grasp, and the gallant youths perished in this generous, though unsuccessful, attempt to save their country. As soon as the Spaniards became masters of the tower, they set fire to it, and, without farther molestation, continued the preparations for their retreat.

The Spaniards abandon the city.

THIS became the more necessary, as the Mexicans were so much astonished at the last effort of the Spanish valour, that they began to change their whole system of hostility, and instead of incessant attacks, endeavoured, by barricading the streets, and breaking down the causeways, to cut off the communication of the Spaniards with the continent, and thus to starve an enemy whom they could not subdue. The first point to be determined was, whether they should march out openly in the face of day, when they could discern every danger, and see how to regulate their own motions, as well as how to resist the assaults of the enemy; or whether they should endeavour to retire secretly in the night. The latter was preferred, partly from hopes that their national superstition would restrain the Mexicans from venturing to attack them in the night, and partly from their own fond belief in the predictions of a private soldier, who, having acquired universal credit by a smattering of learning, and his pretensions to astrology, boldly assured them of success, if they made their retreat in this manner. They began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Pedro Alvarado, and Velasquez de Leon, had the conduct of the rear; and Cortes commanded in the centre, where he placed the prisoners, among whom

whom were a ſon and two daughters of Montezuma, together with ſeveral Mexicans of diſtinction, the artillery, the baggage, and a portable bridge of timber, intended to be laid over the breaches in the cauſeway. They marched in profound ſilence along the cauſeway which led to Tacuba, becauſe it was ſhorter than any of the reſt, and, lying moſt remote from the road towards Tlaſcala and the ſea coaſt, had been left more entire by the Mexicans. They reached the firſt breach in it without moleſtation, hoping that their retreat was undiſcovered. 1520.

Attacked by the Mexicans.

BUT the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper diſpoſitions for a moſt formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridges in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horſes and artillery along it, they were ſuddenly alarmed with the tremendous ſound of warlike inſtruments, and a general ſhout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows, and ſhowers of ſtones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans ruſhing forward to the charge with fearleſs impetuoſity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged ſo faſt into the ſtones and mud, that it was impoſſible to remove it. Diſmayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the ſecond breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every ſide, and though they defended themſelves with their uſual courage, yet crouded as they were on a narrow cauſeway, their diſcipline and military ſkill were of little avail, nor did the obſcurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their fire-arms, or the ſuperiority of their other

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other weapons. All Mexico was now in arms; and ſo eager were the people on the deſtruction of their oppreſſors, that they who were not near enough to annoy them in perſon, impatient of the delay, preſſed forward with ſuch ardour, as drove on their countrymen in the front with irreſiſtible violence. Freſh warriors inſtantly filled the place of ſuch as fell. The Spaniards, weary with ſlaughter, and unable to ſuſtain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confuſion was univerſal; horſe and foot, officers and ſoldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought, and many fell, they could hardly diſtinguiſh from what hand the blow came.

Their diſaſters,

CORTES, with about a hundred foot ſoldiers and a few horſe, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the cauſeway, the bodies of the dead ſerving to fill up the chaſms, and reached the main land. Having formed them as ſoon as they arrived, he returned with ſuch as were yet capable of ſervice, to aſſiſt his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his preſence and example, to perſevere in the efforts requiſite to effect it. He met with part of his ſoldiers, who had broke through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggreſſors, or periſhing in the lake; and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be ſacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had eſcaped aſſembled at Tacuba. But when the morning dawned, and diſcovered to the view of Cortes his ſhattered battalion, reduced to leſs than half its number, the ſurvivors dejected, and moſt of them covered with wounds, the thoughts of what they had ſuffered, and the remembrance of ſo

ſo many faithful friends and gallant followers, who had fallen in that night of ſorrow *, pierced his ſoul with ſuch anguiſh, that while he was forming their ranks, and iſſuing ſome neceſſary orders, his ſoldiers obſerved the tears trickling from his eyes, and remarked, with much ſatisfaction, that while attentive to the duties of a general, he was not inſenſible to the feelings of a man.

and loſs.

In this fatal retreat many officers of diſtinction periſhed †, and among theſe Velaſquez de Leon, who having forſaken the party of his kinſman, the governor of Cuba, to follow the fortune of his companions, was, on that account, as well as for his ſuperior merit, reſpected by them as the ſecond perſon in the army. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were loſt; the greater part of the horſes, and above two thouſand Tlaſcalans, were killed, and only a very ſmall portion of the treaſure which they had amaſſed was ſaved. This, which had been always their chief object, proved now a great cauſe of their calamity; for many of the ſoldiers having ſo overloaded themſelves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action, and retarded their flight, fell, ignominiouſly, the victims of their own inconſiderate avarice. Amidſt ſo many diſaſters, it was ſome conſolation to find that Aguilar and Marina, whoſe function as interpreters was of ſuch eſſential importance, had made their eſcape ‖.

Difficult retreat of the Spaniards.

The firſt care of Cortes was to find ſome ſhelter for his wearied troops; for as the Mexicans infeſted them on every ſide, and the people of Tacuba began to take arms, he could not continue in his preſent

* *Noche Triſte* is the name by which it is ſtill diſtinguiſhed in New Spain. † See NOTE XXII. ‖ Cortes Relat. p. 248. B. Diaz. c. 128. Gomara Cron. c. 109 Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 11, 12.

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preſent ſtation. He directed his march towards the riſing ground, and having fortunately diſcovered a temple ſituated on an eminence, took poſſeſſion of it. There he found not only the ſhelter for which he wiſhed, but, what was no leſs wanted, ſome proviſions to refreſh his men; and though the enemy did not intermit their attacks throughout the day, they were with little difficulty prevented from making any impreſſion. During this time Cortes was engaged in deep conſultation with his officers, concerning the route which they ought to take in their retreat. They were now on the weſt ſide of the lake. Tlaſcala, the only place where they could hope for a friendly reception, lay about ſixty-four miles to the eaſt of Mexico *; ſo that they were obliged to go round the north end of the lake before they could fall into the road which led thither. A Tlaſcalan ſoldier undertook to be their guide, and conducted them through a country in ſome places marſhy, in others mountainous, in all ill-cultivated and thinly peopled. They marched for ſix days with little reſpite, and under continual alarms, numerous bodies of the Mexicans hovering around them, ſometimes haraſſing them at a diſtance with their miſſile weapons, and ſometimes attacking them cloſely in front, in rear, in flank, with great boldneſs, as they now knew that they were not invincible. Nor were the fatigue and danger of thoſe inceſſant conflicts the worſt evils to which they were expoſed. As the barren country through which they paſſed afforded hardly any proviſions, they were reduced to feed on berries, roots, and the ſtalks of green maize; and at the very time that famine was depreſſing their ſpirits and waſting their ſtrength, their ſituation required the moſt vigorous and unremitting exertions of courage and activity. Amidſt thoſe complicated diſtreſſes,

* Villa Segnor Teatro Americano, lib. ii. c. 11.

one circumſtance ſupported and animated the Spaniards. Their commander ſuſtained this ſad reverſe of fortune with unſhaken magnanimity. His preſence of mind never forſook him; his ſagacity foreſaw every event, and his vigilance provided for it. He was foremoſt in every danger, and endured every hardſhip with cheerfulneſs. The difficulties with which he was ſurrounded ſeemed to call forth new talents; and his ſoldiers, though deſpairing themſelves, continued to follow him with increaſing confidence in his abilities. BOOK V. 1520.

Battle of Otumba.

On the ſixth day they reached Otumba, not far from the road between Mexico and Tlaſcala. Early next morning they began to advance towards it, flying parties of the enemy ſtill hanging on their rear; and amidſt the inſults with which they accompanied their hoſtilities, Marina remarked that they often exclaimed with exultation, "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you ſhall quickly meet the vengeance due to your crimes." The meaning of this threat the Spaniards did not comprehend, until they reached the ſummit of an eminence before them. There a ſpacious valley opened to their view, covered with a vaſt army, extending as far as the eye could reach. The Mexicans, while with one body of their troops they haraſſed the Spaniards in their retreat, had aſſembled their principal force on the other ſide of the lake; and marching along the road which led directly to Tlaſcala, poſted it in the plain of Otumba, through which they knew Cortes muſt paſs. At the ſight of this incredible multitude, which they could ſurvey at once from the riſing ground, the Spaniards were aſtoniſhed, and even the boldeſt began to deſpair. But Cortes, without allowing leiſure for their fears to acquire ſtrength by reflection, after warning them briefly that no alternative now remained but to

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conquer or to die, led them inſtantly to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with unuſual fortitude. Such, however, was the ſuperiority of the Spaniſh diſcipline and arms, that the impreſſion of this ſmall body was irreſiſtible; and whichever way its force was directed, it penetrated and diſperſed the moſt numerous battalions. But while theſe gave way in one quarter, new combatants advanced from another, and the Spaniards, though ſucceſsful in every attack, were ready to ſink under thoſe repeated efforts, without ſeeing any end to their toil, or any hope of victory. At that time Cortes obſerved the great ſtandard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general, advancing; and fortunately recollecting to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle, he aſſembled a few of his braveſt officers, whoſe horſes were ſtill capable of ſervice, and placing himſelf at their head, puſhed forward towards the ſtandard with an impetuoſity which bore down every thing before it. A choſen body of nobles, who guarded the ſtandard, made ſome reſiſtance, but were ſoon broken. Cortes, with a ſtroke of his lance, wounded the Mexican general, and threw him to the ground. One of his followers alighting, put an end to his life, and laid hold of the imperial ſtandard. The moment that their leader fell, and the ſtandard, towards which all directed their eyes, diſappeared, an univerſal panic ſtruck the Mexicans, and, as if the bond which held them together had been diſſolved, every enſign was lowered, each ſoldier threw away his weapons, and fled with precipitation to the mountains. The Spaniards, unable to purſue them far, returned to collect the ſpoils of the field, which were ſo valuable as to be ſome compenſation for the wealth which they had loſt in Mexico; for in the enemy's army were moſt of their prin-

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cipal warriors, dreſſed out in their richeſt ornaments, as if they had been marching to aſſured victory. Next day, to their great joy they entered the Tlaſcalan territories *. 1520. July 8.

Reception of the Spaniards in Tlaſcala.

BUT, amidſt their ſatisfaction in having got beyond the precincts of an hoſtile country, they could not look forward without ſolicitude, as they were ſtill uncertain what reception they might meet with from allies, to whom they returned in a condition very different from that in which they had lately ſet out from their dominions. Happily for them, the enmity of the Tlaſcalans to the Mexican name was ſo inveterate, their deſire to avenge the death of their countrymen ſo vehement, and the aſcendant which Cortes had acquired over the chiefs of the republic ſo complete, that, far from entertaining a thought of taking any advantage of the diſtreſſed ſituation in which they beheld the Spaniards, they received them with a tenderneſs and cordiality which quickly diſſipated all their ſuſpicions.

New deliberations of Cortes.

SOME interval of tranquillity and indulgence was now abſolutely neceſſary; not only that the Spaniards might give attention to the cure of their wounds, which had been too long neglected, but in order to recruit their ſtrength, exhauſted by ſuch a long ſucceſſion of fatigue and hardſhips. During this, Cortes learned that he and his companions were not the only Spaniards who had felt the effects of the Mexican enmity. A conſiderable detachment, which was marching from Zempoalla towards the capital, had been cut off by the people of Tepeaca. A ſmaller party, returning from Tlaſcala to Vera Cruz, with the ſhare of

* Cortes relat. p. 219. B. Diaz c. 128. Gomara Cron. c. 120. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 12, 13.

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the Mexican gold allotted to the garriſon, had been ſurpriſed and deſtroyed in the mountains. At a juncture when the life of every Spaniard was of importance, ſuch loſſes were deeply felt. The ſchemes which Cortes was meditating rendered them peculiarly afflictive to him. While his enemies, and even many of his own followers, conſidered the diſaſters which had befallen him as fatal to the progreſs of his arms, and imagined that nothing now remained but ſpeedily to abandon a country which he had invaded with unequal force, his mind, as eminent for perſeverance as for enterpriſe, was ſtill bent on accompliſhing his original purpoſe, of ſubjecting the Mexican empire to the crown of Caſtile. Severe and unexpected as the check was which he had received, it did not appear to him ſufficient reaſon for relinquiſhing the conqueſts which he had already made, or againſt reſuming his operations with better hopes of ſucceſs. The colony at Vera Cruz was not only ſafe, but had remained unmoleſted. The people of Zempoalla and the adjacent diſtricts had diſcovered no ſymptoms of defection. The Tlaſcalans continued faithful to their alliance. On their martial ſpirit, eaſily rouzed to arms, and inflamed with implacable hatred of the Mexicans, he depended for powerful aid. He had ſtill the command of a body of Spaniards, equal in number to that with which he had opened his way into the centre of the empire, and had taken poſſeſſion of the capital; ſo that with the benefit of greater experience, as well as more perfect knowledge of the country, he did not deſpair of quickly recovering all that he had been deprived of by untoward events.

The meaſures he takes.

FULL of this idea, he courted the Tlaſcalan chiefs with ſuch attention, and diſtributed among them

them so liberally the rich spoils of Otumba, that he was secure of obtaining whatever he should require of the republic. He drew a small supply of ammunition, and two or three field-pieces, from his stores at Vera Cruz. He dispatched an officer of confidence with four ships of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other military stores. As he knew that it would be vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unless he could secure the command of the lake, he gave orders to prepare in the mountains of Tlascala materials for building twelve brigantines, so as they might be carried thither in pieces ready to be put together, and launched when he stood in need of their service *.

Mutinous spirit of his troops.

But while, with provident attention, he was taking those necessary steps towards the execution of his measures, an obstacle arose in a quarter where it was least suspected, but most formidable. The spirit of discontent and mutiny broke out in his own army. Many of Narvaez's followers were planters rather than soldiers, and had accompanied him to New Spain with sanguine hopes of obtaining settlements, and little inclination to engage in the hardships and dangers of war. As the same motives had induced them to enter into their new engagements with Cortes, they no sooner became acquainted with the nature of the service, than they bitterly repented of their choice. Such of them as had the good fortune to survive the perilous adventures in which their own imprudence had involved them, happy in having made their escape, trembled at the thoughts of being exposed a second time to similar calamities. As soon as they discovered the intention of Cortes, they began secretly

* Cortes Relat. p. 253. E. Gomara Cron. c. 117.

BOOK V. 1520.

ſecretly to murmur and cabal, and waxing gradually more audacious, they, in a body, offered a remonſtrance to their general againſt the imprudence of attacking a powerful empire with his ſhattered forces, and formally required him to lead them back directly to Cuba. Though Cortes, long practiſed in the arts of command, employed arguments, entreaties, and preſents, to convince or to ſooth them; though his own ſoldiers, animated with the ſpirit of their leader, warmly ſeconded his endeavours; he found their fears too violent and deep-rooted to be removed, and the utmoſt he could effect was to prevail with them to defer their departure for ſome time, on a promiſe that he would, at a more proper juncture, diſmiſs ſuch as ſhould deſire it.

Means he employs to revive their confidence.

THAT the malcontents might have no leiſure to brood over the cauſes of their diſaffection, he reſolved inſtantly to call forth his troops into action. He propoſed to chaſtiſe the people of Tepeaca for the outrage which they had committed; and as the detachment which they had cut off happened to be compoſed moſtly of ſoldiers who had ſerved under Narvaez, their companions, from the deſire of vengeance, engaged more willingly in this war. He took the command in perſon, accompanied by a numerous body of Tlaſcalans, and in the ſpace of a few weeks, after various encounters, with great ſlaughter of the Tepeacans, reduced that province to ſubjection. During ſeveral months, while he waited for the ſupplies of men and ammunition which he expected, and was carrying on his preparations for conſtructing the brigantines, he kept his troops conſtantly employed in various expeditions againſt the adjacent provinces, all of which were conducted with an uniform tenour of ſucceſs. By theſe, his men became again accuſtomed to victory, and reſumed their wonted ſenſe of ſuperiority; the Mexi-

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can power was weakened; the Tlaſcalan warriors acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards; and chiefs of the republic delighted to ſee their country enriched with the ſpoils of all the people around them, and aſtoniſhed every day with freſh diſcoveries of the irreſiſtible proweſs of their allies, declined no effort requiſite to ſupport them. BOOK V. 1520.

Strengthened by ſeveral reinforcements.

ALL thoſe preparatory arrangements, however, though the moſt prudent and efficacious which the ſituation of Cortes allowed him to make, would have been of little avail, without a reinforcement of ſpaniſh ſoldiers. Of this he was ſo deeply ſenſible, that it was the chief object of his thoughts and wiſhes; and yet his only proſpect of obtaining it, from the return of the officer whom he had ſent to the iſles to ſolicit aid, was both diſtant and uncertain. But what neither his own ſagacity nor power could have procured, he owed to a ſeries of fortunate and unforeſeen incidents. The governor of Cuba, to whom the ſucceſs of Narvaez appeared an event of infallible certainty, having ſent two ſmall ſhips after him with new inſtructions and a ſupply of men and military ſtores, the officer whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coaſt, artfully decoyed them into the harbour of Vera Cruz, ſeized the veſſels, and eaſily perſuaded the ſoldiers to follow the ſtandard of a more able leader than him whom they were deſtined to join *. Soon after, three ſhips of more conſiderable force came into the harbour ſeparately. Theſe belonged to an armament fitted out by Franciſco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who being poſſeſſed with the rage of diſcovery and conqueſt which animated every Spaniard ſettled in America, had long aimed at intruding

* B. Diaz. c. 131.

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1520. intruding into ſome diſtrict of New Spain, and dividing with Cortes the glory and gain of annexing that empire to the crown of Caſtile. They unadviſedly made their attempt on the northern provinces, where the country was poor and the people fierce and warlike; and, after a cruel ſucceſſion of diſaſters, famine compelled them to venture into October 28. Vera Cruz and caſt themſelves upon the mercy of their countrymen. Their fidelity was not proof againſt the ſplendid hopes and promiſes which had ſeduced other adventurers, and, as if the ſpirit of revolt had been contagious in New Spain, they likewiſe abandoned the maſter whom they were bound to ſerve, and enliſted under Cortes *. Nor was it America alone that furniſhed ſuch unexpected aid. A ſhip arrived from Spain, freighted by ſome private merchants with military ſtores, in hopes of a profitable market in a country, the fame of whoſe opulence began to ſpread over Europe. Cortes eagerly purchaſed a cargo which to him was invaluable, and the crew, following the general example joined him at Tlaſcala †.

FROM thoſe various quarters, the army of Cortes was augmented with an hundred and eighty men, and twenty horſes, a reinforcement too inconſiderable to produce any conſequence which would intitle it to have been mentioned in the hiſtory of other parts of the globe. But in that of America, where great revolutions were brought about by cauſes which ſeem to bear no proportion to their effects, ſuch ſmall events riſe into importance, becauſe they were ſufficient to decide with reſpect to the fate of kingdoms. Nor is it the leaſt remarkable inſtance of the ſingular felicity conſpicuous in any paſſages of Cortes's ſtory, that the two

* Cortes Relat. 253, F. B. Diaz. c. 133. † Ibid. c. 136.

two perſons chiefly inſtrumental in furniſhing him with thoſe ſeaſonable ſupplies ſhould be an avowed enemy who aimed as his deſtruction, and an envious rival who wiſhed to ſupplant him. BOOK V. 1520.

THE firſt effect of the junction with his new followers was to enable him to diſmiſs ſuch of Narvaez's ſoldiers as remained with reluctance in his ſervice. After their departure, he ſtill muſtered five hundred and fifty infantry, of which fourſcore were armed with muſkets or croſs-bows, forty horſemen, and a train of nine field-pieces *. At the head of theſe, accompanied by ten thouſand Tlaſcalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes began his march towards Mexico, on the twenty-eighth of December, ſix months after his fatal retreat from that city †. Number of his forces.

NOR did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was veſted, had inſtantly raiſed his brother Quetlavaca to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards, would have been ſufficient to gain their ſuffrages, although he had been leſs diſtinguiſhed for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of ſhewing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in perſon, thoſe fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital; and as ſoon as their retreat afforded him any reſpite from action, he took meaſures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the ſpirit which he had diſplayed in driving them out of it. As from the Preparations of the Mexicans for their defence

* Cortes Relat. 255, E. † Relat. 256, A. B. Diaz. c. 137.

BOOK V. 1520.

the vicinity of Tlaſcala he could not be acquainted with the motions and intentions of Cortes, he obſerved the ſtorm that was gathering, and began early to provide againſt it. He repaired what the Spaniards had ruined in the city, and ſtrengthened it with ſuch new fortifications as the ſkill of his ſubjects was capable of erecting. Beſide filling his magazines with the uſual weapons of war, he gave direction to make long ſpears, headed with the ſwords and daggers taken from the Spaniards, in order to annoy the cavalry. He ſummoned the people in every province of the empire to take arms againſt their oppreſſors; as an encouragement to exert themſelves with vigour, he promiſed them exemption from all the taxes which his predeceſſors had impoſed *. But what he laboured with the greateſt earneſtneſs was, to deprive the Spaniards of the advantages which they derived from the friendſhip of the Tlaſcalans, by endeavouring to perſuade that people to renounce all connection with men who were not only avowed enemies of the gods whom they worſhipped, but who would not fail to ſubject them at laſt to the ſame yoke, which they were now inconſiderably lending their aid to impoſe upon others. Theſe repreſentations, no leſs ſtriking than well-founded, were urged ſo forcibly by his ambaſſadors, that it required all the addreſs of Cortes to prevent their making a dangerous impreſſion †.

But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plan of defence, with a degree of foreſight uncommon in an American, his days were cut ſhort by the ſmall-pox. This diſtemper which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in

* Cortes Relat. p. 253, E. 254, A. B. Diaz. c. 140.
† B. Diaz, c. 129. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 14. 19.

in that quarter of the globe, until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned among the greateſt calamities brought upon them by their invaders. In his ſtead the Mexicans raiſed to the throne Guatimozin, nephew and ſon-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of ſuch high reputation for abilities and valour, that in this dangerous criſis, his countrymen, with one voice, called him to the ſupreme command *. BOOK V. 1520.

1521. Cortes advances towards Mexico.

As ſoon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories, he diſcovered various preparations to obſtruct his progreſs. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took poſſeſſion of Tezeuco, the ſecond city of the empire, ſituated on the banks of the lake, about twenty miles from Mexico †. Here he determined to eſtabliſh his head-quarters, as the moſt proper ſtation for launching his brigantines, as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his reſidence there more ſecure, he depoſed the cazique or chief, who was at the head of that community, under pretext of ſome defect in his title, and ſubſtituted in his place a perſon whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the new cazique and his adherents ſerved the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity ‡.

His operations ſlow and cautious.

As the conſtruction of the brigantines advanced ſlowly under the unſkilful hands of ſoldiers and Indians, whom Cortes was obliged to employ in aſſiſting three or four carpenters who happened fortunately to be in his ſervice, and as he had not yet received the reinforcement which he expected from

* B. Diaz. c. 130. † Villa Senor Theatro Americano, i. 156. ‡ Cortes Relat. 256, &c. B. Diaz. c. 137. Gomara Cron. c. 121. Herrera, dec. 3. c. 1.

BOOK V. 1521.

from Hiſpaniola, he was not in a condition to turn his arms directly againſt the capital. To have attacked a city ſo populous, ſo well prepared for defence, and in a ſituation of ſuch peculiar ſtrength, muſt have expoſed his troops to inevitable deſtruction. Three months elapſed before the materials for conſtructing the brigantines were finiſhed, and before he heard any thing with reſpect to the ſucceſs of his negociation in Hiſpaniola. This, however, was not a ſeaſon of inaction to Cortes. He attacked ſucceſſively ſeveral of the towns ſituated around the lake; and though all the Mexican power was exerted to obſtruct his operations, he either compelled them to ſubmit to the Spaniſh crown, or reduced them to ruins. Other towns he endeavoured to conciliate by more gentle means; and though he could not hold any intercourſe with the inhabitants but by the intervention of interpreters, yet, under all the diſadvantage of that tedious and imperfect mode of communication, he had acquired ſuch thorough knowledge of the ſtate of the country, as well as of the diſpoſitions of the people, that he conducted his negociations and intrigues with aſtoniſhing dexterity and ſucceſs. Moſt of the cities adjacent to Mexico were originally the capitals of ſmall independent ſtates; and ſome of them having been but lately annexed to the Mexican empire, ſtill retained the remembrance of their ancient liberty, and bore with impatience the rigorous yoke of their new maſters. Cortes having early obſerved ſymptoms of their diſaffection, availed himſelf of this knowledge to gain their confidence and friendſhip. By offering, with confidence, to deliver them from the odious dominion of the Mexicans, and by liberal promiſes of more indulgent treatment, if they would unite with him againſt their oppreſſors, he prevailed on the people of ſeveral conſiderable diſtricts not only to acknowledge the king of Caſtile as their ſove-

reign

reign, but to ſupply the Spaniſh camp with provi- BOOK V.
ſions, and to ſtrengthen his army with auxiliary troops. Guatimozin, on the firſt appearance of defection among his ſubjects, exerted himſelf with vigour to prevent or to puniſh their revolt; but in ſpite of his efforts, the ſpirit continued to ſpread. The Spaniards gradually acquired new allies; and with deep concern he beheld Cortes arming againſt his empire thoſe very hands which ought to have been active in its defence, and ready to advance againſt the capital at the head of a numerous body of his own ſubjects *. 1521.

WHILE, by thoſe various methods, Cortes was gradually circumſcribing the Mexican power within ſuch narrow limits that his proſpect of overturning it ſeemed neither to be uncertain nor remote, all his ſchemes were well nigh defeated, by a conſpiracy no leſs unexpected than dangerous. The ſoldiers of Narvaez had never united perfectly with the original companions of Cortes, nor did they enter into his meaſures with the ſame cordial zeal. Upon every occaſion that required any extraordinary effort of courage or of patience, their ſpirits were apt to ſink; and now, on a near view of what they had to encounter, in attempting to reduce a city ſo inacceſſible as Mexico, and defended by a numerous army, the reſolution even of thoſe among them who had adhered to Cortes, when he was deſerted by their aſſociates, began to fail. Their fears led them to preſumptuous and unſoldier-like diſcuſſions concerning the propriety of their general's meaſures, and the improbability of their ſucceſs. From theſe they proceeded to cenſure and invectives, and at laſt began to deliberate how they might provide for their own ſafety.

* Cortes Relat. 256—260. B. Diaz. c. 137—140. Gomara Cron. c. 122, 123. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

BOOK V. 1521.

safety, of which they deemed their commander to be totally negligent. Antonio Villefagna, a private ſoldier, but bold, intriguing, and ſtrongly attached to Velaſquez, artfully fomented this growing ſpirit of diſaffection. His quarters became the rendezvous of the malcontents, where, after many conſultations, they could diſcover no method of checking Cortes in his career, but by aſſaſſinating him and his moſt conſiderable officers, and conferring the command upon ſome perſon who would relinquiſh his wild plans, and adopt meaſures more conſiſtent with the general ſecurity. Deſpair inſpired them with courage. The hour for perpetrating the crime, the perſons whom they deſtined as victims, the officers to ſucceed them in command, were all named; and the conſpirators ſigned an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves with moſt ſolemn oaths to mutual fidelity. But on the evening before the appointed day, one of Cortes's ancient followers, who had been ſeduced into the conſpiracy, touched with compunction at the imminent danger of a man whom he had long been accuſtomed to revere, or ſtruck with horror at his own treachery, went privately to his general, and revealed to him all that he knew. Cortes, though deeply alarmed, diſcerned at once what conduct was proper in a ſituation ſo critical. He repaired inſtantly to Villefagna's quarters, accompanied by ſome of his moſt truſty officers. The aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the man, at this unexpected viſit anticipated the confeſſion of his guilt. While his attendants ſeized him, Cortes ſnatched from his boſom a paper containing the aſſociation, ſigned by the conſpirators. Impatient to know how far the defection extended, he retired to read it, and found there names which filled him with ſurpriſe and ſorrow. But aware how dangerous a ſtrict ſcrutiny might prove at ſuch a juncture, he

confined

confined his judicial inquiries to Villefagna alone. As the proofs of his guilt were manifeſt, he was condemned after a ſhort trial, and next morning he was ſeen hanging before the door of the houſe in which he had lodged. Cortes called his troops together, and having explained to them the attrocious purpoſe of the conſpirators, as well as the juſtice of the puniſhment inflicted on Villefagna, he added, with an appearance of ſatisfaction, that he was intirely ignorant with reſpect to all the circumſtances of this dark tranſaction, as the traitor, when arreſted, had ſuddenly torn and ſwallowed a paper, which probably contained an account of it, and under the ſevereſt tortures poſſeſſed ſuch conſtancy as to conceal the names of his accomplices. This artful declaration reſtored tranquillity to many a breaſt that was throbbing, while he ſpoke, with conſciouſneſs of guilt and dread of detection; and by this prudent moderation, Cortes had the advantage of having diſcovered and of being able to obſerve ſuch of his followers as were diſaffected; while they, flattering themſelves that their paſt crime was unknown, endeavoured to avert any ſuſpicion of it, by redoubling their activity and zeal in his ſervice *.

BOOK V. 1521.

His ſingular preparations for building brigantines.

Cortes did not allow them leiſure to ruminate on what had happened; and as the moſt effectual means of preventing the return of a mutinous ſpirit, he determined to call forth his troops immediately to action. Fortunately, a proper occaſion for this occurred without his ſeeming to court it. He received intelligence, that the materials for building the brigantines were at length completely finiſhed, and waited only for a body of Spaniards to conduct them to Tezcuco. The command of this convoy, conſiſting of two hundred foot ſoldiers,

* Cortes Relat. 283, C. B. Diaz. c. 146. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 1.

BOOK V. 1521.

ſoldiers, fifteen horſemen, and two field-pieces, he gave to Sandoval, who, by the vigilance, activity, and courage which he manifeſted on every occaſion, was growing daily in his confidence, and in the eſtimation of his fellow-ſoldiers. The ſervice was no leſs ſingular than important; the beams, the planks, the maſts, the cordage, the ſails, the iron-work, and all the infinite variety of articles requiſite for the conſtruction of thirteen brigantines, were to be carried ſixty miles over land, through a mountainous country, by people who were unacquainted with the miniſtry of domeſtic animals, or the aid of machines to facilitate any work of labour. The Tlaſcalans furniſhed eight thouſand *Tamenes*, an inferior order of men deſtined for ſervile taſks, to carry the materials on their ſhoulders, and appointed fifteen thouſand warriors to accompany and defend them. Sandoval made the diſpoſition for their progreſs with great propriety, placing the *Tamenes* in the centre, one body of warriors in the front, another in the rear, with conſiderable parties to cover the flanks. To each of theſe he joined ſome Spaniards, not only to aſſiſt them in danger, but to accuſtom them to regularity and ſubordination. A body ſo numerous, and ſo much encumbered, advanced leiſurely, but in excellent order; and in ſome places, where it was confined by the woods or mountains, the line of march extended above ſix miles. Parties of Mexicans frequently appeared hovering around them on the high grounds; but perceiving no proſpect of ſucceſs in attacking an enemy continually on his guard, and prepared to receive them, they did not venture to moleſt him; and Sandoval had the glory of conducting ſafely to Tezeuco a convoy on which all the future operations of his countrymen depended *.

THIS

* Cortes Relat. 260. C. E. B. Diaz. c. 140.

1521.

THIS was followed by another event of no leſs moment. Four ſhips arrived at Vera Cruz from Hiſpaniola, with two hundred ſoldiers, eighty horſes, two battering cannon, and a conſiderable ſupply of ammunition and arms *. Elevated with obſerving that all his preparatory ſchemes, either for recruiting his own army, or impairing the force of the enemy, had now produced their full effect, Cortes, impatient to begin the ſiege in form, haſtened the launching of the brigantines. To facilitate this, he had employed a vaſt number of Indians, for two months, in deepening the ſmall rivulet which runs by Tezeuco into the lake, and in forming it into a canal near two miles in length †; and though the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, as well as of the danger which threatened them, endeavoured frequently to interrupt the labourers, or to burn the brigantines, the work was at laſt completed §. On the twenty-eighth of April, all the Spaniſh troops, together with auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the canal; and with extraordinary military pomp, heightened and rendered more ſolemn by the celebration of the moſt ſacred rights of religion, the brigantines were launched. As they fell down the canal in order, Father Olmedo bleſſed them, and gave each its name. Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoiſted their ſails, and bore away before the wind. A general ſhout of joy was raiſed; all admiring that bold inventive genius, which, by means ſo extraordinary that their ſucceſs almoſt exceeded belief, had acquired the command of a fleet, without the aid of which Mexico would have

Receives a new reinforcement.

The brigantines launched.

* Cortes Relat. 259, F. 262, D. Gomara Cron. c. 129.

† See NOTE XXIII. § B Diaz. c. 149.

BOOK V.

continued to set the Spanish power and arms at defiance *.

1521. Dispositions for the siege.

CORTES determined to attack the city from three different quarters; from Tezeuco on the east side of the lake, from Tacuba on the west, and from Cuyocan towards the south. Those towns were situated on the principal causeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defence. He appointed Sandoval to command in the first, Pedro de Alvarado in the second, and Christoval de Olid in the third; allotting to each a numerous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal division of Spaniards, who, by the junction of the troops from Hispaniola, amounted now to eighty-six horsemen, and eight hundred and eighteen foot soldiers; of whom a hundred and eighteen were armed with muskets or cross-bows. Their train of artillery consisted of three battering cannon, and fifteen field-pieces †. He reserved for himself, as the station of greatest importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his small cannon, and manned with twenty-five Spaniards.

May 10.

As Alvarado and Olid proceeded towards the posts assigned them, they broke down the aqueducts which the ingenuity of the Mexicans had erected for conveying water into the capital, and by the distress to which this reduced the inhabitants, gave a beginning to the calamities which they were destined to suffer ‡. Alvarado and Olid found the towns, of which they were ordered to take possession, deserted by their inhabitants, who had

* Cortes Relat. 266, C. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. 1. c. 5. Gomara Cron. c. 129. † Cortes Relat. 266, C. ‡ Cortes Relat. 267, B. B. Diaz, c. 150. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. 1. c. 13

had fled for safety to the capital, where Guatimozin had collected the chief force of his empire, as there alone he could hope to make a successful stand against the formidable enemies who were approaching to assault him. BOOK V. 1521.

THE first effort of the Mexicans was to destroy the fleet of brigantines, the fatal effects of whose operations they foresaw and dreaded. Though the brigantines, after all the labour and merit of Cortes in forming them, were of inconsiderable bulk, rudely constructed, and manned chiefly with landmen, hardly possessed of skill enough to conduct them, they must have been objects of terror to a people unacquainted with any navigation but that of their lake, and possessed of no vessel larger than a canoe. Necessity, however, urged Guatimozin to hazard the attack; and hoping to supply by numbers what he wanted in force, he assembled such a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could scarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze suddenly sprung up; in a moment the sails were spread, and the brigantines with irresistible impetuosity broke through their feeble opponents, overset many canoes, and dissipated the whole armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that the progress of the Europeans in knowledge and arts rendered their superiority greater on this new element than they had hitherto found it by land *. Mexicans attack the brigantines. Repulsed.

FROM that time Cortes remained master of the lake; and the brigantines not only preserved a communication between the Spaniards in their Singular plan of conducting the siege.

* Cortes Relat. 267, C. B. Diaz, c. 150. Gomara Cron. c. 131. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 17.

BOOK V. 1521.

different ſtations, though at conſiderable diſtance from each other, but were employed to cover the cauſeways on each ſide, and keep off the canoes, when the attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. He formed the brigantines in three diviſions, allotting one to each ſtation, with orders to ſecond the operations of the officer who commanded there. From all the three ſtations he puſhed on the attack againſt the city with equal vigour; but in a manner ſo very different from that whereby ſieges are conducted in regular war, that he himſelf ſeems afraid that it would appear no leſs improper than ſingular, to perſons unacquainted with his ſituation *. Each morning his troops aſſaulted the barricades which the enemy had erected on the cauſeways, forced their way over the trenches which they had dug, and through the canals where the bridges were broken down, and endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of the city, in hopes of obtaining ſome deciſive advantage, which might force the enemy to ſurrender, and terminate the war at once; but when the obſtinate valour of the Mexicans rendered the efforts of the day ineffectual, the Spaniards retired in the evening to their former quarters. Thus their toil and danger were, in ſome meaſure, continually renewed; the Mexicans repairing in the night what the Spaniards had deſtroyed through the day, and recovering the poſts from which they had driven them. But neceſſity preſcribed this ſlow and untoward mode of operation. The number of his troops was ſo ſmall, that Cortes durſt not, with a handful of men, attempt to make a lodgment in a city where he might be ſurrounded and annoyed by ſuch a multitude of enemies. The remembrance of what he had already ſuffered by the ill-judged confidence with which he had ventured

* Cortes Relat. 270, F.

ventured into such a dangerous situation, was still fresh in his mind. The Spaniards, exhausted with fatigue, were unable to guard the various posts which they daily gained; and though their camp was filled with Indian auxiliaries, they durst not devolve this charge upon them, because they were so little accustomed to discipline, that no confidence could be placed in their vigilance. Besides this, Cortes was extremely solicitous to preserve the city as much as possible from being destroyed, both as he destined it to be the capital of his conquests, and wished that it might remain as a monument of his glory. From all these considerations, he adhered obstinately, for a month after the siege was opened, to the system which he had adopted. The Mexicans, in their own defence, displayed valour which was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded to another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were ready to sink under the toils of unintermitting service, which were rendered more intolerable by the injuries of the season, the periodical rains being now set in with their usual violence *.

Endeavours to take the city by storm.

ASTONISHED and disconcerted with the length and difficulties of the siege, Cortes determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city before he relinquished the plan which he had hitherto followed, and had recourse to any other mode of attack. With this view, he sent instructions to Alvarado and Sandoval to advance with their divisions to a general assault, and took the command in person of that posted on the causeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his presence, and the expectation of some decisive event, the Spaniards pushed forward with irresistible impetuosity. July 3.

They

* B. Diaz, c. 151.

BOOK V. 1521.

They broke through one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and having entered the city, gained ground inceſſantly, in ſpite of the multitude and ferocity of their opponents. Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progreſs, did not forget that he might ſtill find it neceſſary to retreat; and in order to ſecure it, appointed Julian de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the troops which he had received from Hiſpaniola, to fill up the canals and gaps in the cauſeway as the main body advanced. That officer, deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action and the career of victory, neglected the important charge committed to him, and hurried on inconſiderately to mingle with the combatants. The Mexicans, whoſe military attention and ſkill were daily improving, no ſooner obſerved this, than they carried an account of it to their monarch.

Repulſed

GUATIMOZIN inſtantly diſcerned the conſequences of the error which the Spaniards had committed, and, with admirable preſence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops poſted in the front to ſlacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to puſh forward, while he diſpatched a large body of choſen warriors through different ſtreets, ſome by land, and others by water, towards the great breach in the cauſeway, which had been left open. On a ſignal which he gave, the prieſts in the great temple ſtruck the great drum conſecrated to the god of war. No ſooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful ſolemn ſound, calculated to inſpire them with contempt of death and enthuſiaſtic ardour, than they ruſhed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to reſiſt men urged on no leſs by religious fury than hope of ſucceſs, began

began to retire at first leisurely, and with a good countenance; but as the enemy pressed on, and their own impatience to escape increased, the terror and confusion became so general, that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed upon them fiercely from every side, their light canoes carrying them through shoals which the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to stop and rally his flying troops; fear rendered them regardless of his intreaties or commands. Finding all his endeavours to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save some of those who had thrown themselves into the water; but while thus employed with more attention to their situation than to his own, six Mexicain captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and though two of his officers rescued him at the expence of their own lives, he received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose. Above sixty Spaniards perished in the rout; and what rendered the disaster more afflicting, forty of these fell alive into the hands of an enemy never known to shew mercy to a captive *.

1521.

with considerable loss.

The approach of night, though it delivered the dejected Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in, what was hardly less grievous, the noise of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendour, that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy

Those who were taken sacrificed to the god of war.

* Cortes Relat. p. 273. B. Diaz, c. 152. Gomara Cron. c. 148. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. 1. c. 20.

BOOK V. 1521.

busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. Through the gloom they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stripped naked and compelled to dance before the image of the god to whom they were to be offered. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought that they could distinguish each unhappy victim, by the well-known sound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented its horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld *.

New schemes and efforts of the Mexicans.

CORTES, who, besides all that he felt in common with his soldiers, was oppressed with the additional load of anxious reflections natural to a general on such an unexpected calamity, could not like them relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguish. He was obliged to assume an air of tranquillity, in order to revive the spirits and hopes of his followers. The juncture indeed, required an extraordinary exertion of fortitude. The Mexicans, elated with their victory, sallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone. They sent the heads of the Spaniards whom they had sacrificed to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and assured them that their god of war, appeased by the blood of their invaders, which had been shed so plentifully on his altars, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days time those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity re-established in the empire.

* See NOTE XXIV.

1521.

A PREDICTION uttered with such confidence, and in terms so void of ambiguity, gained universal credit among a people prone to superstition. The zeal of the provinces which had already declared against the Spaniards augmented, and several, which had hitherto remained inactive, took arms with enthusiastic ardour to execute the decrees of the gods. The Indian auxiliaries who had joined Cortes, accustomed to venerate the same deities with the Mexicans, and to receive the responses of their priests with the same implicit faith, abandoned the Spaniards as a race of men devoted to certain destruction. Even the fidelity of the Tlascalans was shaken, and the Spanish troops were left almost alone in their stations. Cortes finding that he attempted in vain to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates by argument, took advantage from the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy, in fixing its accomplishment so near at hand, to give them a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle. Under cover of the brigantines which kept the enemy at a distance, his troops lay in safety, and the fatal term expired without any disaster *.

Cortes deserted by many of his Indian allies.

HIS allies, ashamed of their own credulity, returned to their station. Other tribes, judging that the gods, who had now deceived the Mexicans, had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them, joined his standard; and such was the levity of a simple people, moved by every slight impression, that, in a short time after such a general defection of his confederates, Cortes saw himself, if we may believe his own account, at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand Indians.

He regains their friendship,

* B. Diaz. c. 153. Gomara Cron. c. 138.

BOOK V.

dians. Even with ſuch a numerous army, he found it neceſſary to adopt a new and more wary ſyſtem of operation. Inſtead of renewing his attempts to become maſter of the city at once, by ſuch bold but dangerous efforts of valour as he had already tried, he made his advances gradually, and with every poſſible precaution againſt expoſing his men to any calamity ſimilar to that which they ſtill bewailed. As the Spaniards puſhed forward the Indians regularly repaired the cauſeways behind them. As ſoon as they got poſſeſſion of any part of the town, the houſes were inſtantly levelled with the ground. Day by day, the Mexicans, forced to retire as their enemies gained ground, were hemmed in within more narrow limits. Guatimozin, though unable to ſtop the career of the enemy, continued to defend his capital with obſtinate reſolution, and diſputed every inch of ground. But the Spaniards, having not only varied their mode of attack, but, by orders of Cortes, having changed the weapons with which they fought, were again armed with the long Chinantlan ſpears, which they had employed with ſuch ſucceſs againſt Narvaez, and, by the firm array in which this enabled them to range themſelves, they repelled, with little danger, the looſe aſſault of the Mexicans: incredible numbers of them fell in the conflicts which they renewed every day*. While war waſted without, famine began to conſume them within the city. The Spaniſh brigantines, having the entire command of the lake, rendered it impoſſible to receive any ſupply of proviſions by water. The vaſt number of his Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to ſhut up the avenues to the city by land. The ſtores which Guatimozin had laid up were exhauſted by the multitudes which crouded

1521. and adopts a new ſyſtem of attack.

* Cortes Relat. 275, C. 276. F. B. Diaz. c. 153.

crouded into the capital, to defend their ſovereign and the temples of their gods. Not only the people, but perſons of the higheſt rank, felt the utmoſt diſtreſſes of want. What they ſuffered brought on infectious and mortal diſtempers, the laſt calamity that viſits beſieged cities, and which filled up the meaſure of their woes *. BOOK V. 1520.

Courage and conſtancy of Guatimozin.

But, under the preſſure of ſo many and ſuch various evils, the ſpirit of Guatimozin remained firm and unſubdued. He rejected with ſcorn, every overture of peace from Cortes, and diſdaining the idea of ſubmitting to the oppreſſors of his country, determined not to ſurvive its ruin. The Spaniards continued their progreſs. At length all the three diviſions penetrated into the great ſquare in the centre of the city, and made a ſecure lodgment there. Three-fourths of the city were now reduced, and laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was ſo cloſely preſſed, that it could not long, withſtand aſſailants who attacked it from their new ſtation with ſuperior advantage, and more aſſured expectation of ſucceſs. The Mexican nobles, ſolicitous to ſave the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatimozin to retire from a place where reſiſtance was now vain, that he might rouſe the more diſtant provinces of the empire to arms, and maintain there a more ſucceſsful ſtruggle with the public enemy. In order to facilitate the execution of this meaſure, they endeavoured to amuſe Cortes with overtures of ſubmiſſion, that, while his attention was employed in adjuſting the articles of pacification, Guatimozin might eſcape unperceived. But they made this attempt upon a leader of greatet ſagacity and diſcernment than to be deceived by their arts. Cortes ſuſpecting their intention, and aware of what moment July 27.

* Cortes Relat. 276, E. 277. F. B. Diaz. 155. Gomara Cron. c. 141.

BOOK V. 1521.

moment it was to defeat it, appointed Sandoval, the officer on whose vigilance he could most perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines, with strict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy. Sandoval, attentive to the charge, observing some large canoes crouded with people rowing across the lake with extraordinary rapidity, instantly gave the signal to chace. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the fleetest brigantine, soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremost canoe, which seemed to carry some person whom all the rest followed and obeyed. At once the rowers dropt their oars, and all on board, throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear, as the emperor was there. Holguin eagerly seized his prize, and Guatimozin, with a dignified composure, gave himself up into his hands, requesting only that no insult might be offered to the empress or his children. When conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a supplicant. "I have done," said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general, "what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of use *.

He is taken prisoner.

Aug. 13. The city taken.

As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital which yet remained undestroyed. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued seventy-five

* Cortes Relat. 279. B. Diaz, c. 156. Gomara Cron. c. 142. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 7.

five days, hardly one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of one party in the attack, or of the other in the defence of a city, on the fate of which both knew that the fortune of the empire depended. As the struggle here was more obstinate, it was likewise more equal, than any between the inhabitnats of the Old and New Worlds. The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise, if they had trusted for success to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbours who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to shake off its yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. How much soever this account of the reduction of Mexico may detract, on the one hand, from the marvellous relations of some Spanish writers, by ascribing that to simple and obvious causes which they attribute to the romantic valour of their countrymen, it adds, on the other, to the merit and abilities of Cortes, who, under every disadvantage, acquired such an ascendant over unknown nations, as to render them instruments towards carrying his scheme into execution *.

1521.

THE exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprize, was at first excessive. But this was quickly damped by the cruel disappointment of those sanguine hopes, which had animated them amidst so many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's

Smallness of the booty, and disappointment of the Spaniards.

* See NOTE XXV.

BOOK V.

1521.

zuma's treaſures, and the ornaments of ſo many temples, their rapaciouſneſs could collect only an inconſiderable booty amidſt ruins and deſolation *. Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what remained of the riches amaſſed by his anceſtors to be thrown into the lake. The Indian auxiliaries, while the Spaniards were engaged in conflict with the enemy, had carried off the moſt valuable part of the ſpoil. The ſum to be divided among the conquerors was ſo ſmall, that many of them diſdained to accept of the pittance which fell to their ſhare, and all murmured and exclaimed; ſome, againſt Cortes and his confidents, whom they ſuſpected of having ſecretly appropriated to their own uſe, a large portion of the riches which ſhould have been brought into the common ſtock; others, againſt Guatimozin, whom they accuſed of obſtinacy, in refuſing to diſcover the place where he had hidden his treaſure.

Guatimozin tortured.

ARGUMENTS, entreaties, and promiſes, were employed in order to ſooth them, but with ſo little effect, that Cortes, from ſolicitude to check this growing ſpirit of diſcontent, gave way to a deed which ſtained the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence for thoſe virtues which he had diſplayed, he ſubjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favourite, to torture, in order to force from them a diſcovery of the royal treaſures, which it was ſuppoſed they had concealed. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict, with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-ſufferer, overcome by the violence

* The gold and ſilver, according to Cortes, amounted only to 120,000 peſos, Relat. 280, A. a ſum far inferior to that which the Spaniards had formerly divided in Mexico.

lence of the anguiſh, turned a dejected eye towards his maſter, which ſeemed to implore his permiſſion to reveal all that he knew. But the high-ſpirited prince, darting on him a look of authority mingled with ſcorn, checked his weakneſs by aſking, "Am I now repoſing on a bed of flowers?" Overawed by the reproach, he perſevered in his dutiful ſilence, and expired. Cortes, aſhamed of a ſcene ſo horrid, reſcued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reſerved for new indignities and ſufferings *.

All the provinces of the empire ſubmit.

THE fate of the capital, as both parties had foreſeen, decided that of the empire. The provinces ſubmitted one after another to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards marching through them without interruption, penetrated, in different quarters, to the great Southern Ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a ſhort as well as eaſy paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, and ſecure to the crown of Caſtile all the envied wealth of thoſe fertile regions †; and the active mind of Cortes began already to form ſchemes for attempting this important diſcovery ‡.

Cortes forms ſchemes of new diſcoveries,

which are completed by Magellan.

HE did not know, that during the progreſs of his victorious arms in Mexico, the very ſcheme of which he began to form ſome idea, had been undertaken and accompliſhed. As this is one of the moſt ſplendid events in the hiſtory of the Spaniſh diſcoveries, and has been productive of effects peculiarly intereſting to thoſe extenſive provinces which Cortes had now ſubjected to the crown of Caſtile, the account of its riſe and progreſs merits a particular detail.

FERDINAND

* B. Diaz, c. 157. Gomara Cron. c. 146. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 8 Torquem. Mon. Ind. i. 574.

† Cortes Relat. 280, D, &c. B. Diaz, c. 157.

‡ Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 17. Gomara Cron. c. 149.

BOOK V.

FERDINAND MAGALHAENS, or Magellan, a Portugueſe gentleman of honourable birth, having ſerved ſeveral years in the Eaſt Indies, with diſtinguiſhed valour, under the famous Albuquerque, demanded the recompence which he thought due to his ſervices, with the boldneſs natural to a high-ſpirited ſoldier. But, for ſome reaſon which is not explained, both his general and his ſovereign rejected his ſuit with a diſdainful coldneſs, that was intolerable to a man conſcious of what he had done, and of what he deſerved. In a tranſport of reſentment, he formally renounced his allegi-

1521.

1517. ance to an ungrateful maſter, and fled to the court of Caſtile, in hopes that there his worth would be more juſtly eſtimated. He endeavoured to recommend himſelf by propoſing to execute a ſcheme, the accompliſhment of which, he knew, would wound the monarch, againſt whom he was exaſperated, in the moſt tender part. He revived Columbus's original and favourite project, of diſcovering a paſſage to India by a weſterly courſe, and without encroaching on that portion of the globe which was allotted to the Portugueſe by the line of demarcation. He founded his hopes of ſucceſs on the ideas of that great navigator, confirmed by many obſervations, the reſult of his own naval experience, as well as that of his countrymen, in their intercourſe with the Eaſt. The undertaking, he acknowledged, was both arduous and expenſive, as it could not be attempted but with a ſquadron of conſiderable force, and victualled for at leaſt two years. Fortunately, he applied to a miniſter who was not apt to be deterred, either by the boldneſs of a deſign, or the expence of carrying it into execution. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the affairs of Spain, diſcerning at once what an increaſe of wealth and glory would accrue to his country by the ſucceſs of Magellan's propoſal, liſtened to it with a moſt favourable ear. Charles V. on his

arrival in his Spaniſh dominions, entered into the meaſure with no leſs ardour, and orders were iſſued for equipping a proper ſquadron at the public charge, of which the command was given to Magellan, whom the king honoured with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain General *. 1521.

His voyage.

On the tenth of Auguſt one thouſand five hundred and nineteen, Magellan ſailed from Seville with five ſhips, which, according to the ideas of the age, were deemed to be of conſiderable force, though the burden of the largeſt did not exceed one hundred and twenty tons. The crews of the whole amounted to two hundred and thirty-four men, among whom were ſome of the moſt ſkilful pilots in Spain, and ſeveral Portugueſe ſailors, in whoſe experience, as more extenſive, Magellan placed ſtill greater confidence. After touching at the Canaries, he ſtood directly ſouth towards the equinoctial line along the coaſt of America, but was ſo long retarded by tedious calms, and ſpent ſo much time in ſearching every bay and inlet for that communication with the Southern Ocean which he wiſhed to diſcover, that he did not reach the river De la Plata till the twelfth of January. 1520. That ſpacious opening, through which its vaſt body of water pours into the Atlantic, allured him to enter; but, after ſailing up it for ſome days, he concluded, from the ſhallowneſs of the ſtream and the freſhneſs of the water, that the wiſhed-for ſtrait was not ſituated there, and continued his courſe towards the ſouth. On the thirty-firſt of March he arrived in the port of St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees ſouth of the line, where he reſolved to winter. In this uncomfortable ſtation he loſt one of his ſquadron, and the Spaniards ſuf-

* Herrera, dec. 2. lib. ii. c. 19. lib. iv. c. 9. Gomara Hiſt. c. 91.

1521. fered so much from the excessive rigour of the climate, that the crews of three of his ships, headed by their officers, rose in open mutiny, and insisted on relinquishing the visionary project of a desperate adventurer, and returning directly to Spain. This dangerous insurrection Magellan suppressed, by an effort of courage no less prompt than intrepid, and inflicted exemplary punishment on the ringleaders. With the remainder of his followers, overawed but not reconciled to his scheme, he continued his voyage towards the south, and at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs and remonstrances of the people under his command. After sailing twenty days in that winding dangerous channel, to which he gave his own name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and with tears of joy he returned thanks to Heaven for having thus far crowned his endeavours with success. *

But he was still at a greater distance than he imagined from the object of his wishes. He sailed during three months and twenty days in an uniform direction towards the north-west, without discovering land. In this voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, he suffered incredible distress. His stock of provisions was almost exhausted, the water became putrid, the men were reduced to the shortest allowance with which it was impossible to sustain life, and the scurvy, the most dreadful of all the maladies with which sea-faring people are afflicted, began to spread among the crew. One circumstance alone afforded them some consolation; they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather,

* Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iv. c. 10. lib. ix. c. 10, &c. Gomara Hist c. 92. Pigafetta Viaggio ap. Ramus. ii. p. 352, &c.

ther, with such favourable winds, that Magellan bestowed on that ocean the name of Pacific, which it still retains. When reduced to such extremity that they must have sunk under their sufferings, they fell in with a cluster of small but fertile islands, which afforded them refreshments in such abundance, that their health was soon re-established. From these isles, to which he gave the name of *De los Ladrones*, he proceeded on his voyage, and soon made a more important discovery of the islands now known by the name of the *Philippines*. In one of these he got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of troops well armed; and while he fought at the head of his men with his usual valour, he fell by the hands of those barbarians, together with several of his principal officers.

1521. March 6. April 26.

The expedition was prosecuted under other commanders. After visiting many of the smaller isles scattered in the eastern part of the Indian ocean, they touched at the great island of Borneo, and at length landed in Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course had arrived at that sequestered seat of their most valuable commerce, which they themselves had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction. There, and in the adjacent isles, they found a people acquainted with the benefits of extensive trade, and willing to open an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of the precious spices, which are the distinguished production of those islands, and with that, as well as with specimens of the rich commodities yielded by the other countries which they had visited, the *Victory*, which, of the two ships that remained of the squadron, was most fit for a long voyage, set sail for

Nov. 8. Jan. 1522.

BOOK V. 1521.

Europe, under the command of Juan Sebaſtian del Cano. He followed the courſe of the Portuguſe by the Cape of Good Hope, and, after many diſaſters and ſufferings, he arrived at St. Lucar on the ſeventh of September one thouſand five hundred and twenty-two, having ſailed round the globe in the ſpace of three years and twenty-eight days *.

THOUGH an untimely fate deprived Magellan of the ſatisfaction of accompliſhing this great undertaking, his contemporaries, juſt to his memory and talents, aſcribed to him not only the glory of having formed the plan, but of having ſurmounted almoſt every obſtacle to the completion of it; and in the preſent age his name is ſtill ranked among the higheſt in the roll of eminent and ſucceſsful navigators. The naval glory of Spain now eclipſed that of every other nation, and by a ſingular felicity ſhe had the merit, in the courſe of a few years, of diſcovering a new continent almoſt as large as that part of the earth which was formerly known, and of aſcertaining by experience the form and extent of the whole terraqueous globe.

THE Spaniards were not ſatisfied with the glory of having firſt encompaſſed the earth; they expected to derive great commercial advantages from this new and boldeſt effort of their maritime ſkill. The men of ſcience among them contended, that the ſpice iſlands, and ſeveral of the richeſt countries in the Eaſt, were ſo ſituated as to belong of right to the crown of Caſtile, in conſequence of the partition made by Alexander VI. The merchants, without attending to this diſcuſſion, engaged eagerly in that lucrative and alluring commerce, which was

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 3. 9. lib. iv. c. 1. Gomara Cron. c. 93, &c. Pigafetta ap. Ramuſ. ii. p. 361, &c.

was now opened to them. The Portugueſe, alarmed at the intruſion of ſuch formidable rivals, remonſtrated and negociated in Europe, while in Aſia they obſtructed the trade of the Spaniards by force of arms. Charles, not ſufficiently inſtructed with reſpect to the importance of this valuable branch of commerce, or diſtracted by the multiplicity of his ſchemes and operations, did not afford his ſubjects proper protection. At laſt, the low ſtate of his finances, exhauſted by the efforts of his arms in every part of Europe, together wirh the dread of adding a new war with Portugal to thoſe in which he was already engaged, induced him to make over his claim of the Moluccas to the Portugueſe for three hundred and fifty thouſand ducats. He reſerved, however, to the crown of Caſtile the right of reviving its pretenſions on repayment of that ſum; but other objects engroſſed his attention and that of his ſucceſſors, and Spain was finally excluded from a branch of commerce in which it was engaging with ſanguine expectations of profit *.

THOUGH the trade with the Moluccas was relinquiſhed, the voyage of Magellan was followed by commercial effects of great moment in Spain. Philip II. in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four, reduced thoſe iſlands which he diſcovered in the Eaſtern Ocean to ſubjection, and eſtabliſhed ſettlements there; between which and the kingdom of New Spain a regular intercourſe, the matter of which ſhall be explained in its proper place, is carried on. I return now to the tranſactions in New Spain.

AT the time that Cortes was acquiring ſuch vaſt territories for his native country, and preparing the way

An order to ſuperſede Cortes;

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 5, &c. dec. iv. lib. v. 7. &c.

1521. way for future conqueſts, it was his ſingular fate not only to be deſtitute of any commiſſion or authority from the ſovereign whom he was ſerving with ſuch ſucceſsful zeal, but to be regarded as an undutiful and ſeditious ſubject. By the influence of Fonſeca, biſhop of Burgos, his conduct in aſſuming the government of New Spain was declared to be an irregular uſurpation, in contempt of the royal authority; and Chriſtoval de Tapia received a commiſſion, impowering him to ſuperſede Cortes, to ſeize his perſon, to confiſcate his effects, to make a ſtrict ſcrutiny into his proceedings, and to tranſmit the reſult of his inquiries to the council of the Indies, of which the biſhop of Burgos was preſident. A few weeks after the reduction of Mexico, Tapia landed at Vera Cruz with the royal mandate to ſtrip its conqueror of his power, and to treat him as a criminal. But Fonſeca had choſen a very improper inſtrument to wreak his vengeance on Cortes. Tapia had neither the reputation nor the talents that ſuited the high command to which he was appointed. Cortes, while he publicly expreſſed the moſt reſpectful veneration for the emperor's authority, ſecretly took meaſures to defeat the effect of his commiſſion; and having involved Tapia and his followers in a multiplicity of negociations and conferences, in which he ſometimes had recourſe to threats, but more frequently employed bribes and promiſes, he at length prevailed on that weak man to abandon a province which he was unworthy of governing *.

which he eludes.

Applies again to the court, 1522. May 15.

But notwithſtanding the fortunate dexterity with which he had eluded this blow, Cortes was ſo ſenſible of the precarious tenure by which he held his power, that he diſpatched deputies to Spain with a pompous

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iii. c. 16. dec. iv. c. 1. Cortes Relat. 281. E. B. Diaz. c. 158.

pompous account of the ſucceſs of his arms, with farther ſpecimens of the productions of the country, and with rich preſents to the emperor, as the earneſt of future contributions from his new conqueſt; requeſting, in recompence for all his ſervices, the approbation of his proceedings, and that he might be entruſted with the government of thoſe territories, which his conduct, and the valour of his followers, had added to the crown of Caſtile. The juncture in which his deputies reached the court was favourable. The internal commotions in Spain, which had diſquieted the beginning of Charles's reign were juſt appeaſed *. The miniſters had leiſure to turn their attention towards foreign affairs. The account of Cortes's victories filled his countrymen with admiration. The extent and value of his conqueſts became the object of vaſt and intereſting hopes. Whatever ſtain he might have contracted, by the irregularity of the ſteps which he took in order to attain power, was ſo fully effaced by the ſplendor and merit of the great actions which this had enabled him to perform, that every heart revolted at the thought of inflicting any cenſure on a man, whoſe ſervices entitled him to the higheſt marks of diſtinction. The public voice declared warmly in favour of his pretenſions, and Charles arriving in Spain about this time, adopted the ſentiments of his ſubjects with a youthful ardour. Notwithſtanding the claims of Velaſquez, and the partial repreſentations of the biſhop of Burgos, he appointed Cortes captain-general and governor of New Spain, judging that no perſon was ſo capable of maintaining the royal anthority, or of eſtabliſhing good order both among his Spaniſh and Indian ſubjects, as the commander whom the former would willingly

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and is appointed Captain-general and Governor of New Spain.

* Hiſt of Charles V. vol. ii. b. iii.

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ingly obey, and the latter had been long accuſtomed to fear and to reſpect *.

1522. His ſchemes and arrangements.

EVEN before his juriſdiction received this legal ſanction, Cortes ventured to exerciſe all the powers of a governor, and, by various arrangements, endeavoured to render his conqueſt a ſecure and beneficial acquiſition to his country. He determined to eſtabliſh the ſeat of government in its ancient ſtation, and to raiſe Mexico again from its ruins; and having conceived high ideas concerning the future grandeur of the ſtate of which he was laying the foundation, he began to rebuild its capital on a plan which hath gradually formed the moſt magnificent city in the New World. At the ſame time, he employed ſkilful perſons to ſearch for mines in different parts of the country, and opened ſome which were found to be richer than any which the Spaniards had hitherto diſcovered in America. He detached his principal officers into the remote provinces, and encouraged them to ſettle there, not only by beſtowing upon them large tracts of land, but by granting them the ſame dominion over the Indians, and the ſame right to their ſervice which the Spaniards had aſſumed in the iſlands.

Inſurrections of the Mexicans, and cruelty of the Spaniards.

IT was not, however, without difficulty that the Mexican empire could be entirely reduced into the form of a Spaniſh colony. Enraged and rendered deſperate by oppreſſion, the natives often forgot the ſuperiority of their enemies, and run to arms in defence of their liberties. In every conteſt, however, the European valour and diſcipline prevailed. But fatally for the honour of their country, the Spaniards ſullied the glory redounding from theſe repeated victories by their mode of treating the vanquiſhed

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 3. Gomara Cron. 164, 165. B. Diaz. 167, 168.

vanquiſhed people. After taking Guatimozin, and becoming maſters of his capital, they ſuppoſed that the king of Caſtile entered on poſſeſſion of all the rights of the captive monarch, and affected to conſider every effort of the Mexicans to aſſert their own independence, as the rebellion of vaſſals againſt their ſovereign, or the mutiny of ſlaves againſt their maſter. Under the ſanction of thoſe ill-founded maxims, they violated every right that ſhould be held ſacred between hoſtile nations. After every inſurrection, they reduced the common people in the provinces which they ſubdued, to the moſt humiliating of all conditions, that of perſonal ſervitude. Their chiefs, ſuppoſed to be more criminal, were puniſhed with greater ſeverity, and put to death in the moſt ignominious or the moſt excruciating form, that the inſolence or the cruelty of their conquerors could deviſe. In almoſt every province of the Mexican empire, the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms is marked with blood, and with deeds ſo attrocious as diſgrace the enterpriſing valour that conducted them to ſucceſs. In the province of Panuco, ſixty caziques, or leaders, and four hundred nobles, were burnt at one time. Nor was this ſhocking barbarity perpetrated in any ſudden ſally of rage, or by a commander of inferior note. It was the act of Sandoval, an officer whoſe name is entitled to the ſecond rank in the annals of New Spain, executed after a ſolemn conſultation with Cortes; and to complete the horror of the ſcene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were aſſembled, and compelled to be ſpectators of their dying agonies †. It ſeems hardly poſſible to exceed in horror this dreadful example of ſeverity; but it was followed by another, which affected the Mexicans ſtill more ſenſibly,

1522.

† Cortes Relat. 291, C. Gomara Cron. c. 155.

BOOK V. 1522.

ſenſibly, as it gave them a moſt feeling proof of their own degradation, and of the ſmall regard that their haughty maſters retained for the ancient dignity and ſplendor of their ſtate. On a ſlight ſuſpicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, that Guatimozin had formed a ſcheme to ſhake off the yoke, and to excite his former ſubjects to take arms, Cortes, without the formality of a trial, ordered the unhappy monarch together with the caziques of Tezeuco and Tacuba, the two perſons of greateſt eminence in the empire, to be hanged; and the Mexicans, with aſtoniſhment and horror, beheld this ignominious puniſhment inflicted upon perſons, to whom they were accuſtomed to look up with reverence, hardly inferior to that which they paid to the gods themſelves *. The example of Cortes and his principal officers, encouraged and juſtified perſons of ſubordinate rank to venture upon committing greater exceſſes. Nuno de Guzman, in particular, ſtained an illuſtrious name by deeds of peculiar enormity and rigour, in various expeditions which he conducted †.

ONE circumſtance, however, ſaved the Mexicans from farther conſumption, perhaps from one as complete as that which had depopulated the iſlands. The firſt conquerors did not attempt to ſearch for the precious metals in the bowels of the earth. They were neither ſufficiently wealthy to carry on the expenſive works, which are requiſite for opening thoſe deep receſſes where Nature has concealed the veins of gold and ſilver, nor ſufficiently ſkilful to perform the ingenious operations by which they are ſeparated from their reſpective ores. They were ſatisfied with the more ſimple method,

* Gomara Cron. c. 170. B. Diaz. c. 177. Herrera, dec 3 lib. viii. c. 9. See NOTE XXVI.

† Herrera, dec. 4 and 5 paſſim.

method, practiſed by the Indians, of waſhing the earth carried down rivers and torrents from the mountains, and collecting the grains of native metal depoſited there. The rich mines of New Spain, which have poured forth their treaſures with ſuch profuſion on every quarter of the globe were not diſcovered for ſeveral years after the conqueſt §. By that time, a more orderly government and police were introduced into the colony; experience, derived from former errors, had ſuggeſted many uſeful and humane regulations for the protection and preſervation of the Indians; and though it then became neceſſary to increaſe the number of thoſe employed in the mines, and they were engaged in a ſpecies of labour more pernicious to the human conſtitution, they ſuffered leſs hardſhip or diminution than from the ill-judged, but leſs extenſive ſchemes of the firſt conquerors.

1552, &c.

THIS extraordinary mortality among the Indians, diſappointed the hopes of their new maſters. Few ſeem to have derived any conſiderable wealth from their ill-conducted reſearches. According to the uſual fate of firſt ſettlers in new colonies, it was their lot to encounter danger and to ſtruggle with difficulties; the fruits of their victories and toils were reſerved for times of tranquillity, and reaped by ſucceſſors of greater induſtry, but of inferior merit. The early hiſtorians of America abound with accounts of the ſufferings and of the poverty of its conquerors ‡. In New Spain their condition was rendered more grievous by a peculiar arrangement. When Charles V. advanced Cortes to the government of that country, he, at the ſame time, appointed certain commiſſioners to receive

§ Herrera, dec. 8. lib. c. 21. ‡ Cortes Relat. 283. F. B. Diaz. c. 209.

BOOK V.

1522. receive and adminiſter the royal revenue there, with independent juriſdiction *. Theſe men, choſen from inferior ſtations in various departments of public buſineſs at Madrid, were ſo much elevated with their promotion, that they thought they were called to act a part of the firſt conſequence. But being accuſtomed to the minute formalities of office, and having contracted the narrow ideas ſuited to the ſphere in which they had hitherto moved, they were aſtoniſhed, on ar-

1524. riving in Mexico, at the high authority which Cortes exerciſed, and could not conceive that the mode of adminiſtration, in a country recently ſubdued and ſettled, muſt be different from that which took place in one where tranquillity and regular government had been long eſtabliſhed. In their letters, they repreſented Cortes as an ambitious tyrant, who having uſurped a juriſdiction ſuperior to law, aſpired at independence, and by his exorbitant wealth and extenſive influence, might accompliſh thoſe diſloyal ſchemes which he apparently meditated †. Theſe inſinuations made ſuch deep impreſſion upon the Spaniſh miniſters, moſt of whom had been formed to buſineſs under the jealous and rigid adminiſtration of Ferdinand, that, unmindful of all Cortes's paſt ſervices, and regardleſs of what he was then ſuffering in conducting that extraordinary expedition, in which he advanced from the lake of Mexico to the weſtern extremities of Honduras ‡, they infuſed the ſame ſuſpicions into the mind of their maſter, and prevailed on him to order a ſolemn inqueſt to be made into his conduct, with powers to the licen-

1525. tiate Ponce de Leon, entruſted with that commiſſion, to ſeize his perſon, if he ſhould find that expedient, and ſend him priſoner to Spain §.

THE

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 3. † Id. dec. 3. lib. v. c. 14.
‡ See NOTE XXVII. § Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 14, 15.

BOOK V.

THE ſudden death of Ponce de Leon, a few days after his arrival in New Spain, prevented the execution of this commiſſion. But as the object of his appointment was known, the mind of Cortes was deeply wounded with this unexpected return for ſervices which far exceeded whatever any ſubject of Spain had rendered to his ſovereign. He endeavoured, however, to maintain his ſtation, and to recover the confidence of the court. But every perſon in office, who had arrived from Spain ſince the conqueſt, was a ſpy upon his conduct, and with malicious ingenuity gave an unfavourable repreſentation of all his actions. The apprehenſions of Charles and his miniſters increaſed. A new commiſſion of inquiry was iſſued, with more extenſive powers, and various precautions were taken to prevent or to puniſh him, if he ſhould be ſo preſumptuous as to attempt what was inconſiſtent with the fidelity of a ſubject †. Cortes beheld the approaching criſis of his fortune with all the violent emotions natural to a haughty mind, conſcious of high deſert, and receiving unworthy treatment. But though ſome of his deſperate followers urged him to aſſert his own rights againſt his ungrateful country, and, with a bold hand, to ſeize that power which the courtiers meanly accuſed him of coveting §, he retained ſuch ſelf-command, or was actuated with ſuch ſentiments of loyalty, as to reject their dangerous counſels, and to chuſe the only courſe in which he could ſecure his own dignity, without departing from his duty. He reſolved not to expoſe himſelf to the ignominy of a trial, in that country which had been the ſcene of his triumphs; but, without waiting for the arrival of his judges, to repair directly to Caſtile, and commit himſelf and

1525.

1528.

† Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 15. dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 1. lib. iv. c. 9. 10. B. Diaz. c. 172. 196. Gomara Cron. c. 166.

§ B. Diaz. c. 194.

BOOK V.

and his cauſe to the juſtice and generoſity of his ſovereign *.

1528. CORTES appeared in his native country with the ſplendour that ſuited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many Jewels and ornaments of great value, ſeveral curious productions of the country ‡, and was attended by ſome Mexicans of the firſt rank, as well as by the moſt conſiderable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain removed at once every ſuſpicion and fear that had been entertained with reſpect to his intentions. The emperor having now nothing to apprehend from the deſigns of Cortes, received him like a perſon whom conſciouſneſs of his own innocence had brought into the preſence of his maſter, and who was intitled by the eminence of his ſervices, to the higheſt marks of diſtinction and reſpect. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of a vaſt territory in New Spain, were ſucceſſively beſtowed upon him; and as his manners were correct and elegant, although he had paſſed the greater part of his life among rough adventurers, the emperor admitted him to the ſame familiar intercourſe with himſelf, that was enjoyed by noblemen of the firſt rank §.

BUT, amidſt thoſe external proofs of regard, ſymptoms of remaining diſtruſt appeared. Though Cortes earneſtly ſolicited to be reinſtated in the government of New Spain, Charles, too ſagacious to commit ſuch an important charge to a man whom he had once ſuſpected, peremptorily refuſed to inveſt him again with powers which he might find

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 8. ‡ See NOTE XXVIII.
§ Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 1. lib. vi. c. 4. B. Diaz. c. 196. Gom. Cron. c. 182.

find it impoſſible to controul. Cortes, though dignified with new titles, returned to Mexico with diminiſhed authority. The military department, with powers to attempt new diſcoveries, was left in his hands; but the ſupreme direction of civil affairs was placed in a board called *The Audience of New Spain.* At a ſubſequent period, when, upon the increaſe of the colony, the exertion of authority more united and extenſive become neceſſary, Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank, was ſent thither as *Viceroy*, to take the government into his hands. BOOK V. 1530.

THIS diviſion of power in New Spain proved, as was unavoidable, the ſource of perpetual diſſention, which embittered the life of Cortes, and thwarted all his ſchemes. As he had now no opportunity to diſplay his active talents but in attempting new diſcoveries, he formed various ſchemes for that purpoſe, all of which bear impreſſions of a genius that delighted in what was bold and ſplendid. He early entertained an idea, that, either by ſteering through the gulf of Florida along the eaſt coaſt of North America, ſome ſtrait would be found that communicated with the weſtern ocean; or that, by examining the iſthmus of Darien, ſome paſſage would be diſcovered between the North and South Seas ‡. But having been diſappointed in his expectations with reſpect to both, he now confined his views to ſuch voyages of diſcovery as he could make from the ports of New Spain in the South Sea. There he fitted out ſucceſſively ſeveral ſmall ſquadrons, which either periſhed in the attempt, or returned without making any diſcovery of moment. Cortes, weary of entruſting the conduct of his operations to others, took the command 1535

‡ Cort. Relat. Ram. iii. 294. B.

BOOK V. 1536. mand of a new armament in perſon, and, after enduring incredible hardſhips, and encountering dangers of every ſpecies, he diſcovered the large peninſula of California, and ſurveyed the greater part of the gulf which ſeparates it from New Spain. The diſcovery of a country of ſuch extent would have reflected credit on a common adventurer; but it could add little new honour to the name of Cortes, nor ſatisfy the ſanguine expectations which he had formed ‡. Diſguſted with ill ſucceſs, to which he had not been accuſtomed, and weary of conteſting with adverſaries to whom he conſidered it as a diſgrace to be oppoſed, he 1540. once more ſought for redreſs in his native country.

But his reception there was very different from that which gratitude, and even decency, ought to have ſecured for him. The merit of his ancient exploits was already, in a great meaſure, forgotten, or eclipſed by the fame of recent and more valuable conqueſts, in another quarter of America. No ſervice of moment was now expected from a man of declining years, and who began to be unfortunate. The emperor behaved to him with cold civility; his miniſters treated him, ſometimes with neglect, ſometimes with inſolence. His grievances received no redreſs; his claims were urged without effect; and after ſeveral years ſpent in fruitleſs application to miniſters and judges, an occupation the moſt irkſome and mortifying to a man of high ſpirit, who had moved in a ſphere where he was more accuſtomed to command than to ſolicit, Cortes ended his days on the ſecond of December one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age. His

d

fate

‡ Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 9. 10. dec. 8. lib. vi. c. 14. Venegas Hiſt. of Californ. i. 125. Lorenzana Hiſt. p. 322, &c.

fate was the ſame with that of all the perſons who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the diſcovery or conqueſt of the New world. Envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he ſerved, he has been admired and celebrated by ſucceeding ages. Which has formed the moſt juſt eſtimate of his character, an impartial conſideration of his actions muſt determine.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BOOK VI.

FROM the time that Nugnez de Balboa discovered the great Southern Ocean, and received the first obscure hint concerning the opulent countries with which it might open a communication, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of those unknown regions. In an age when the spirit of adventure was so arduous and vigorous, that large fortunes were wasted, and the most alarming dangers braved, in pursuit of discoveries merely possible, the faintest ray of hope was followed with eager expectation, and the slightest information was sufficient to inspire such perfect confidence, as conducted men to the most arduous undertakings*.

1523. Schemes for discovering Peru.

* See NOTE XXIX.

ACCORDINGLY, ſeveral armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take poſſeſſion of the countries to the eaſt of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders whoſe talents and reſources were unequal to the attempt *. As their excurſions did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of Tierra Firmè, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with diſmal accounts concerning the diſtreſſes to which they had been expoſed, and the unpromiſing aſpect of the places which they had viſited. Damped by theſe tidings, the rage for diſcovery in that direction abated; and it became the general opinion, that Balboa had founded viſionary hopes, on the tale of an ignorant Indian, ill underſtood, or calculated to deceive.

1523. Unſucceſsful for ſome time.

BUT there were three perſons ſettled in Panama, on whom the circumſtances which detered others made ſo little impreſſion, that, at the very moment when all conſidered Balboa's expectations of diſcovering a rich country, by ſteering towards the eaſt, as chimerical, they reſolved to attempt the execution of his ſcheme. The names of thoſe extraordinary men were Franciſco Fizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural ſon of a gentleman of an honourable family by a very low woman, and, according to the cruel fate which often attends the offſpring of unlawful love, had been ſo totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he ſeems to have deſtined him never to riſe beyond the condition of his mother. In conſequence of this ungenerous idea, he ſet him, when bordering on manhood, to keep hogs. But the aſpiring

Undertaken by Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque.

1524.

* Calancha Coronica, p. 100.

aſpiring mind of young Pizarro diſdaining that ignoble occupation, he abruptly abandoned his charge, enliſted as a ſoldier, and after ſerving ſome years in Italy, embarked for America, which, by opening ſuch a boundleſs rage to active talents, allured every adventurer whoſe fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. There, Pizarro early diſtinguiſhed himſelf. With a temper of mind no leſs daring than the conſtitution of his body was robuſt, he was foremoſt in every danger, patient under the greateſt hardſhips, and unſubdued by any fatigue. Though ſo illiterate that he could not even read, he was ſoon conſidered as a man formed to command. Every operation committed to his conduct proved ſucceſsful, as, by a happy but rare conjunction, he united perſeverance with ardour, and was as cautious in executing, as he was bold in forming his plans. By engaging early into life, without any reſource but his own talents and induſtry, and by depending on himſelf alone in his ſtruggles to emerge from obſcurity, he acquired ſuch a thorough knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was fitted to aſſume a ſuperior part in conducting the one, and in governing the other *.

BOOK VI. 1524.

ALMAGRO had as little to boaſt of his deſcent as Pizarro. The one was a baſtard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of ſoldierly qualities of intrepid valour, indefatigable activity, or inſurmountable conſtancy in enduring the hardſhips inſeparable from military ſervice in the New World. But in Almagro theſe virtues were accompanied with the openneſs, generoſity, and can-

* Herrera, dec. 1 & 2, paſſim, dec. 4. lib. vi. c. 107. Gomara Hiſt. c. 144. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 9.

BOOK VI. 1524.

candour natural to men whoſe profeſſion is arms; in Pizarro, they were united with the addreſs, the craft, and the diſſimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purpoſes and with ſagacity to penetrate into thoſe of other men.

HERNANDO DE LUQUE was an eccleſiaſtic, who acted both as prieſt and ſchoolmaſter at Panama, and, by means which the contemporary writers have not deſcribed, had amaſſed riches that inſpired him with thoughts of riſing to greater eminence.

Terms of their aſſociation.

SUCH were the men deſtined to overturn one of the moſt extenſive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpoſe was authoriſed by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the leaſt wealthy of the three, as he could not throw ſo large a ſum as his aſſociates into the common ſtock, engaged to take the department of greateſt fatigue and danger, and to command in perſon the armament which was to go firſt upon diſcovery. Almagro offered to conduct the ſupplies of proviſions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might ſtand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negociate with the governor, and ſuperintend whatever was carrying on for the general intereſt. As the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that ſtrange union both acquired an increaſe of force, this confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the moſt ſolemn act of religion. Luque celeberated maſs, divided a conſecrated hoſt into three, and reſerving one part to himſelf, gave the other two to his aſſociates, of which they partook; and thus, in name of the

Prin-

Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodſhed were the objects ‡. BOOK VI.

THE attempt was begun with a force more ſuited to the humble condition of the three adventurers, than to the greatneſs of the enterpriſe in which they were engaged. Pizarro ſet ſail from Panama with a ſingle veſſel, of ſmall burthen, and a hundred and twelve men. But in that age, ſo little were the Spaniards acquainted with the peculiarities of climate in America, that the time which Pizarro choſe for his departure was the moſt improper in the whole year; the periodical winds, which were then ſet in, being directly adverſe to the courſe which he purpoſed to ſteer †. After beating about for ſeventy days, with much danger and inceſſant fatigue, Pizarro's progreſs towards the ſouth-eaſt was not greater than what a ſkilful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched at ſeveral places on the coaſt of Tierra Firmè, but found every where the ſame uninviting country which former adventurers had deſcribed; the low grounds converted into ſwamps by the overflowing of rivers; the higher, covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants, and thoſe fierce and hoſtile. Famine, fatigue, and frequent rencounters with the natives, and above all, the diſtempers of a moiſt, ſultry climate, combined in waſting his ſlender band of followers. The undaunted reſolution of their leader continued, however, for ſome time, to ſuſtain their ſpirits, although no ſign had yet appeared of diſcovering thoſe golden regions to which he had promiſed to conduct them. At length, he was obliged to abandon that inhoſpitable coaſt, and retire

1524. Their firſt attempt. Nov. 14.

1525.

Attended with little ſucceſs.

‡ Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. c. 13. Zarate, lib. i. c. 1.
† Herrera, dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 8. Xerez. p. 179.

BOOK VI. 1525.

retire to Chuchama, oppoſite to the pearl iſlands, where he hoped to receive a ſupply of proviſions and troops from Panama.

But Almagro having ſailed from that port with ſeventy men, ſtood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his aſſociate. Not finding him there, he landed his ſoldiers, who, in ſearching for their companions, underwent the ſame diſtreſſes, and were expoſed to the ſame dangers, which had driven them out of the country. Repulſed at length by the Indians in a ſharp conflict, in which their leader loſt one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewiſe were compelled to reimbark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found ſome conſolation in recounting their adventures, and comparing their ſufferings. As Almagro had advanced as far as the river St. Juan, in the province of Popayan, where both the country and inhabitants appeared with a more promiſing aſpect, that dawn of better fortune was ſufficient to determine ſuch ſanguine projectors not to abandon their ſcheme, notwithſtanding all that they had ſuffered in proſecuting it *.

June 24.

They reſume the undertaking.

Almagro repaired to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their ſhattered troops. But what he and Pizarro had ſuffered, gave his countrymen ſuch an unfavourable idea of the ſervice, that it was with difficulty he could levy fourſcore men †. Feeble as this reinforcement was, they did not heſitate about reſuming their operations. After a long ſeries of diſaſters and diſappointments, not inferior to thoſe which they had already experienced, part of the armament reached the Bay of St.

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 11, 12. See NOTE XXX.
† Zarate, lib. i. c. 1.

St. Matthew, on the coaſt of Quito, and landed at Tacamez, to the ſouth of the river of Emeraulds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet diſcovered in the Southern Ocean, the natives clad in garments of woollen or cotton ſtuff, and adorned with ſeveral trinkets of gold and ſilver. BOOK VI. 1526.

BUT notwithſtanding thoſe favourable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of thoſe who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of thoſe who liſtened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durſt not venture to invade a country ſo populous with a handful of men, enfeebled by fatigue and diſeaſes. They retired to the ſmall iſland of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his aſſociate returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing ſuch a reinforcement, as might enable them to take poſſeſſion of the opulent territories whoſe exiſtence ſeemed to be no longer doubtful *.

Pizarro recalled by the governor of Panama.

BUT ſome of the adventurers, leſs enterpriſing, or leſs hardy than their leaders, having ſecretly conveyed lamentable accounts of their ſufferings and loſſes to their friends at Panama, Almagro met with an unfavourable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had ſucceeded Pedrarias in the government of that ſettlement. After weighing the matter, with that cold œconomical prudence, which appears the firſt of all virtues to perſons whoſe limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing great deſigns, he concluded an expedition, attended with ſuch certain waſte of men, to be ſo detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raiſing of new

* Xerez. 181. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 13.

BOOK VI. 1526.

new levies, but dispatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with these measures, which they could not prevent and durst not oppose, found means of communicating their sentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquish an enterprise which was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of re-establishing their reputation and fortune, that were both on the decline. Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obstinacy on all its purposes, needed no incentives to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him. But the incredible calamities to which they had been exposed were still so recent in their memories, and the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends after a long absence, rushed with such joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the sand with his sword, permitting such as wished to return home to pass over it, only thirteen of all the daring veterans in his service had resolution to remain with their commander *.

Persists in his design.

This small, but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country is indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions, fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona. This, as it was farther removed from the coast than Gallo, and uninhabited, they considered as a more secure retreat, where, unmolested, they might wait for supplies from Panama, which they trusted that the activity of their

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 2, 3. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2. Xerez. 181. Gomara Hist. c. 109.

their associates there would be able to procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold solicitors, and their incessant importunity was seconded by the general voice of the colony, which exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the public service, and chargeable with no error but what flowed from an excess of zeal and courage, to perish like the most odious criminals in a desart island. Overcome by those intreaties and expostulations, the governor at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But that he might not seem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterprise, he would not permit one land-man to embark on board of it. 1526.

Hardships he endured.

By this time, Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an island, infamous for the most unhealthy climate in that region of America*. During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of succour from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitless expectations, and dispirited with suffering hardships of which they saw no end, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that detestable abode. But, on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy, that all their sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived, and, with a rapid transition, not unnatural among men accustomed by their mode of life to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, high confidence succeeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro easily induced them to resume their former scheme with fresh ardour. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the south-east,

* See NOTE XXXI.

BOOK VI.

east, and, more fortunate in this than in any of their past efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, discovered the coast of Peru. After touching at some places of less note, they landed at Tumbez, a place of some note, above three degrees south of the line, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the *Incas* or sovereigns of the country †. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled, and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, and possessed of ingenuity so far surpassing the other inhabitants of the New World, as to have the use of tame domestic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice, was such a show of gold and silver, not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in several vessels and utensils for common use, formed of the same precious metals, as left no room to doubt that they abounded with profusion in the country. Pizarro and his companions seemed now to have attained to the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wishes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

1526. Discovers Peru.

Returns to Panama.

But with the slender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain possession. He ranged, however, for some time along the coast, maintaining every where a peaceable intercourse with the natives, no less astonished at their new visitants, than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld. Having explored the country as

1527.

† Calancha, p. 103.

as far as was requiſite to aſcertain the importance of the diſcovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants ſome of their *Llamas* or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of ſheep, ſome veſſels of gold and ſilver, as well as ſome ſpecimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he propoſed to inſtruct in the Caſtilian language, that they might ſerve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With theſe he arrived at Panama, towards the cloſe of the third year from the time of his departure thence *. No adventurer of the age ſuffered hardſhips or encountered dangers which equal thoſe to which he was expoſed during this long period. The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he ſurmounted the other, exceed whatever is recorded in the hiſtory of the New World, where ſo many romantic diſplays of thoſe virtues occur.

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1528. New ſchemes of the aſſociates.

NEITHER the ſplendid relation that Pizarro gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had diſcovered, nor his bitter complaints on account of that unſeaſonable recall of his forces, which had put it out of his power to attempt making any ſettlement there, could move the governor of Panama to ſwerve from his former purpoſe. He ſtill contended, that the colony was not in a condition to invade ſuch a mighty empire, and refuſed to authoriſe an expedition which he foreſaw would be ſo alluring that it might ruin the province in which he preſided, by an effort beyond its ſtrength. His coldneſs, however, did not in any degree abate the ardour of the three aſſociates; but they perceived that they could not carry their ſcheme into execution

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 3—6. dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 7, 8. Vega, 2. lib. i. c. 10—14. Zarate, lib i. c. 2. Benzo Hiſt. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 1.

BOOK VI. 1528.

execution without the countenance of ſuperior authority, and muſt ſolicit their ſovereign to grant that permiſſion which they could not extort from his delegate. With this view, after adjuſting among themſelves that Pizarro ſhould claim the ſtation of Governor, Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of biſhop in the country which they purpoſed to conquer, they ſent Pizarro as their agent to Spain, though their fortunes were now ſo much exhauſted by the repeated efforts which they had made, that they found ſome difficulty in borrowing the ſmall ſum requiſite towards equipping him for the voyage *.

Pizarro ſent to Spain to negociate.

PIZARRO loſt no time in repairing to court, and, new as the ſcene might be to him, he appeared before the emperor with the unembarraſſed dignity of a man, conſcious of what his ſervices merited; and he conducted his negociations with an inſinuating dexterity of addreſs, which could not have been expected either from his education, or former habits of life. His feeling deſcription of his own ſufferings, and his pompous account of the country which he had diſcovered, confirmed by the ſpecimens of its productions which he exhibited, made ſuch an impreſſion both on Charles and his miniſters, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but ſeemed to be intereſted in the ſucceſs of its leader. Preſuming on thoſe diſpoſitions in his favour, Pizarro paid little attention to the intereſt of his aſſociates. As the pretenſions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him, the eccleſiaſtical dignity to which he aſpired. For Almagro, he claimed only the command of the fortreſs which ſhould be erected at Tumbez. To himſelf he ſecured whatever

Neglects his aſſociates,

* Herrera, dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 1. Vega, 2. lib. 1. c. 14.

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whatever his boundleſs ambition could deſire. He was appointed governor, captain general, and adelantado of all the country which he had diſcovered, and hoped to conquer, with ſupreme authority, civil as well as military; and a full right to all the privileges and emoluments uſually granted to adventurers in the New World. His juriſdiction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coaſt to the ſouth of the river St. Jago, to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to ſerve under him. In return for thoſe conceſſions, which coſt the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the ſucceſs of his own efforts, Pizarro engaged to raiſe two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ſhips, arms, and warlike ſtores requiſite towards ſubjecting, to the crown of Caſtile, the country of which the government was allotted him.

1528. July 26. and procures the ſupreme command to himſelf.

INCONSIDERABLE as the body of men was, which Pizarro had undertaken to raiſe, his funds and credit were ſo low that he could hardly complete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to ſteal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the ſcrutiny of the officers who had it in charge to examine whether he had fulfilled the ſtipulations in his contract*. Before his departure, however, he received ſome ſupply of money from Cortes, who having returned to Spain about this time, was willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whoſe talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory ſimilar to that which he himſelf had finiſhed †.

Slender force he was able to raiſe.

1529.

HE

* Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. † Ibid. lib vii. c. 10.

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1529. He landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched acroſs the iſthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, of whom the firſt was born in lawful wedlock, the two latter, like himſelf, were of illegitimate birth, and by Francisco de Alcantara, his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of ſuch abilities and courage, as fitted them to take a diſtinguiſhed part in his ſubſequent tranſactions.

1530. His reconciliation with Almagro. On his arrival at Panama, Pizarro found Almagro ſo much exaſperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negociation, that he not only refuſed to act any longer in concert with a man by whoſe perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honours to which he had a juſt claim, but laboured to form a new aſſociation, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his diſcoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wiſdom and addreſs than to ſuffer a rupture ſo fatal to all his ſchemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquiſh the office of adelantado, and promiſing to concur in ſoliciting that title, with an independent government for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted ſoldier, which had been violent, but was not implacable. Luque, highly ſatisfied with having been ſucceſsful in all his own pretenſions, cordially ſeconded Pizarro's endeavours. A reconciliation was effected; and the confederacy renewed on its original terms, that the enterpriſe ſhould be carried on at the common expence of the aſſociates, and the profits accruing from it ſhould be equally divided among them *.

* Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. 1. c. 3. Vega, 2. lib. 1. c. 14.

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EVEN after their re-union, and the utmoſt efforts of their intereſt, three ſmall veſſels, and a hundred and eighty ſoldiers, thirty-ſix of whom were horſemen, compoſed the armament which they were able to fit out. But the aſtoniſhing progreſs of the Spaniards in America had inſpired them with ſuch ideas of their own ſuperiority, that Pizarro did not heſitate to ſail with this contemptible force to invade a great empire. Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcement of men he ſhould be able to muſter. As the ſeaſon for embarking was properly choſen, and the courſe of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days; though, by the force of the winds and currents, he was carried above an huudred leagues to the north of Tumbez, the place of his deſtination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. Without loſing a moment, he began to advance towards the ſouth, taking care, however, not to depart far from the ſea-ſhore, both that he might eaſily effect a junction with the ſupplies which he expected from Panama, and ſecure a retreat in caſe of any diſaſter, by keeping as near as poſſible to his ſhips. But as the country in ſeveral parts on the coaſt of Peru is barren, unhealthful, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to paſs all the rivers near their mouth, where the body of water is greateſt; and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the natives when he ſhould have ſtudied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and diſeaſes of various kinds, brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to thoſe which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced correſponding ſo ill with the alluring deſcription of the country given by Pizarro,

1530. Their armament.

1531. February.

Lands in Peru.

BOOK VI. 1531.

that many began to reproach him, and every ſoldier muſt have become cold to the ſervice, if, even in this unfertile region of Peru, they had not met with ſome appearances of wealth and cultivation, which ſeemed to juſtify the report of their leader. April 14. At length they reached the province of Coaque; and having ſurpriſed the principal ſettlement of the natives, they ſeized there veſſels and ornaments of gold and ſilver, to the amount of thirty thouſand peſos, with other booty of ſuch value, as diſpelled all their doubts, and inſpired the moſt deſponding with ſanguine hopes *.

His meaſures for obtaining a reinforcement.

PIZARRO himſelf was ſo much delighted with this rich ſpoil, which he conſidered as the firſt fruits of a land flowing with treaſure, that he inſtantly diſpatched one of his ſhips to Panama, with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua, with a conſiderable ſum to ſome perſons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers, by this early diſplay of the wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coaſt, and diſdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives but force, he attacked them with ſuch violence in their ſcattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to ſubmit to his yoke. This ſudden appearance of invaders, whoſe aſpect and manners were ſo ſtrange, and whoſe power ſeemed to be ſo irreſiſtible, made the ſame dreadful impreſſion as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with reſiſtance until he attacked the iſland of Puna in the bay of Guayquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which he had paſſed, and its inhabitants fiercer and leſs civilized than thoſe of the continent, they defended themſelves with ſuch obſtinate valour,

* Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. lib. ii. c. 1. Xeres, 182.

lour, that Pizarro ſpent ſix months in reducing them to ſubjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the diſtempers that raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months *. 1532.

WHILE he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his own attention, to ſpread the fame of his firſt ſucceſs at Coaque. Two different detachments arrived from Nicaragua, which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he conſidered as a reinforcement of great conſequence to his feeble band, eſpecially as the one was under the command of Sebaſtian Benalcazar, and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had ſerved in America. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura, and, in an advantageous ſtation near the mouth of it, he eſtabliſhed the firſt Spaniſh colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael. Receives ſome, and continues to advance. May 16.

As Pizarro continued to advance towards the centre of the Peruvian empire, he gradually received more full information concerning its extent and policy, as well as the ſituation of its affairs at that juncture. Without ſome knowledge of theſe, he could not have conducted his operations with propriety; and without a ſuitable attention to theſe, it is impoſſible to account for the progreſs which the Spaniards had already made, or to unfold the cauſes of their ſubſequent ſucceſs.

AT the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its ſovereigns extended in length, from north to ſouth, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its breadth, from eaſt to weſt, was much leſs conſiderable; being uniformly State of the Peruvian empire.

* P. Sancho ap. Ramuſ. iii. p. 371, F. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 18. lib. ix. c. 1. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 2, 3. Xeres, p. 182, &c.

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bounded by the vaſt ridge of the Andes, ſtretching from its one extremity to the other. Peru, like the reſt of the New World, was originally poſſeſſed by ſmall independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were ſo little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preſerved among their deſcendants, deſerve credit, they muſt be claſſed among the moſt unimproved ſavages of America. Strangers to every ſpecies of cultivation or regular induſtry, without any fixed reſidence, and unacquainted with thoſe ſentiments and obligations which form the firſt bonds of ſocial union, they are ſaid to have roamed about naked in the foreſts, with which the country was then covered, more like wild beaſts than like men. After they had ſtruggled for ſeveral ages with the hardſhips and calamities which are inevitable in this barbarous ſtate, and when no circumſtance ſeemed to indicate the approach of any uncommon effort towards improvement, we are told that there appeared, on the banks of the lake Titiaca, a man and woman of majeſtic form, and clothed in decent garments. They declared themſelves to be the children of the Sun, ſent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miſeries of the human race, to inſtruct and to reclaim them. At their perſuaſion, enforced by reverence for the divinity in whoſe name they were ſuppoſed to ſpeak, ſeveral of the diſperſed ſavages united together, and receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they ſettled, and began to lay the foundations of a city.

MANCO CAPAC and Mama Ocollo, for ſuch were the names of thoſe extraordinary perſonages, having thus collected ſome wandering tribes, formed that ſocial union, which, by multiplying the deſires, and uniting the efforts of the human ſpecies,

ſpecies, excites induſtry, and leads to improvement. Manco Capac inſtructed the men in agriculture, and other uſeful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to ſpin and to weave. By the labour of the one ſex, ſubſiſtence became leſs precarious; by that of the other, life was rendered more comfortable. After ſecuring the objects of firſt neceſſity in an infant ſtate, by providing food, raiment, and habitations for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing ſuch laws and policy as might perpetuate their happineſs. By his inſtitutions, which ſhall be more particularly explained hereafter, the various relations in private life were eſtabliſhed, and the duties reſulting from them preſcribed with ſuch propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of manners. In public adminiſtration, the functions of perſons in authority were ſo preciſely defined, and the ſubordination of thoſe under their juriſdiction maintained with ſuch a ſteady hand, that the ſociety in which he preſided ſoon aſſumed the aſpect of a regular and well-governed ſtate.

THUS, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the *Incas* or *Lords* of Peru. At firſt, its extent was ſmall. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco. But within its narrow precincts, he exerciſed abſolute and uncontrolled authority. His ſucceſſors, as their dominions expanded, arrogated a ſimilar juriſdiction over their ſubjects: the deſpotiſm of Aſia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be ſacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family, thus ſeparated from the reſt of the nation, was diſtinguiſhed

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guiſhed by peculiarities in dreſs and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to aſſume. The monarch himſelf appeared with enſigns of royalty reſerved for him alone; and received from his ſubjects marks of obſequious homage and reſpect, which approached almoſt to adoration.

But, among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarchs is ſaid to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their ſubjects. It was not the rage of conqueſt, if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominions, but the deſire of diffuſing the bleſſings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they poſſeſſed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a ſucceſſion of twelve monarchs, it is ſaid that not one deviated from this beneficent character *.

When the Spaniards firſt viſited the coaſt of Peru, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the ſtate, was ſeated on the throne. He is repreſented as a prince diſtinguiſhed not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was ſubjected, a conqueſt of ſuch extent and importance as almoſt doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of reſiding in the capital of that valuable province, which he had added to his dominions; and, notwithſtanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy againſt polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquiſhed monarch of Quito. She bore him a ſon named Atahualpa,

* Cieca de Leon, Chron. c. 44. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 4 dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 17.

Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which ſeems to have happened about the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-nine, he appointed his ſucceſſor in that kingdom, leaving the reſt of his dominions to Huaſcar, his eldeſt ſon, by a mother of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with more reputation and ſplendour than any of his predeceſſors, the deſtination of Huana Capac concerning the ſucceſſion, appeared ſo repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed ſacred, that it was no ſooner known at Cuzco than it excited general diſguſt. Encouraged by thoſe ſentiments of his ſubjects, Huaſcar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful ſuperior. But it had been the firſt care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. Theſe were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whoſe valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their ſupport, Atahualpa firſt eluded his brother's demand, and then marched againſt him in hoſtile array. 1532.

THUS the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient uſage, and that of the other aſſerted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity, to which, under a ſucceſſion of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a ſtranger. In ſuch a conteſt, the iſſue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel uſe of his victory. Conſcious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the Sun deſcended from Manco Capac, whom he could ſeize

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ſeize either by force or ſtratagem. From a political motive, the life of this unfortunate rival Huaſcar, who had been taken priſoner in the battle which decided the fate of the empire, was ſaved for ſome time, that, by iſſuing orders in his name, the uſurper might more eaſily eſtabliſh his own authority *.

Favourable to the progreſs of Pizarro.

WHEN Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greateſt fury. Had he made any hoſtile attempt in his former viſit to Peru in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven, he muſt then have encountered the force of a powerful ſtate, united under a monarch poſſeſſed of capacity and courage, and unembarraſſed with any care that could divert him from oppoſing his progreſs. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were ſo intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more intereſting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconſiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whoſe career it would be eaſy, as they imagined, to give a check, when more at leiſure.

He avails himſelf of it, and advances.

BY this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foreſight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourſe with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmoleſted, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to ſtop its progreſs. During their progreſs, the Spaniards had acquired ſome imperfect knowledge of

* Zarate, lib i. c. 15. Vega, 1. lib. ix. c. 12. and 32—40. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 2. lib. iii. c. 17.

of this ſtruggle between the two contending factions. The firſt complete information, with reſpect to it, they received from ſome meſſengers whom Huaſcar ſent to Pizarro, in order to ſollicit his aid againſt Atahualpa, whom he repreſented as a rebel and an uſurper *. Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foreſaw ſo clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided ſtate of the kingdom which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to puſh forward, while inteſtine diſcord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumſtances ſhould incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater eaſe to cruſh both. Enterpriſing as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations againſt Americans, and diſtinguiſhed as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that after having proceeded hither ſlowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his ſyſtem of operation, and have ventured upon a meaſure ſo hazardous, without ſome new motive or proſpect to juſtify it.

State of his forces.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garriſon in St. Michael, ſufficient to defend a ſtation of equal importance as a place of retreat in caſe of any diſaſter, and as a port for receiving any ſupplies which ſhould come from Panama, he began his march with a very ſlender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They conſiſted of ſixty-two horſemen †, and a hundred and two foot ſoldiers, of whom twenty were armed with croſs-bows, and three with muſkets. He directed his courſe towards Caxamalca, a ſmall town

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 3. † See NOTE XXXII.

1532. town at the distance of twelve days march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer dispatched by the Inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a profer of his alliance, and his assurances of a frendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne *.

Ideas of the Peruvians concerning their designs.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the Inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between between St. Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that com-

* Herrera, dec. v. lib. i. c. 3. Xerez, p. 189.

comfortleſs region, muſt have proved fatal to them *. From Montupè they advanced towards the mountains which encompaſs the low country of Peru, and paſſed through a defile ſo narrow and inacceſſible, that a few men might have defended it againſt a numerous army. But here likewiſe, from the ſame inconſiderate credulity of the Inca, the Spaniards met with no oppoſition, and took quiet poſſeſſion of a fort erected for the ſecurity of that important ſtation. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his profeſſions of friendſhip; and as an evidence of his ſincerity, ſent them preſents of greater value than the former.

Arrive at Caxamalca.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took poſſeſſion of a large court, on one ſide of which was a houſe which the Spaniſh hiſtorians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole ſurrounded with a ſtrong rampart or wall of earth. When he had poſted his troops in this advantageous ſtation, he diſpatched Hernando Soto, and his brother Ferdinand, to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league diſtant from the town. He inſtructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific diſpoſition, and to deſire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in viſiting his country. They were treated with all the reſpectful hoſpitality uſual among the Peruvians in the reception of their moſt cordial friends, and Atahualpa promiſed to viſit the Spaniſh commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his ſubjects approached his perſon and obeyed his commands, aſtoniſhed thoſe Spaniards, who had never

* See NOTE XXXIII.

BOOK VI. 1532.

never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cazique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were ſtill more powerfully attracted by the vaſt profuſion of wealth which they obſerved in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the veſſels of gold and ſilver in which the repaſt offered to them was ſerved up, the multitude of utenſils of every kind formed of thoſe precious metals, opened proſpects far exceeding any idea of opulence that a European of the ſixteenth century could form.

Perfidious ſcheme of Pizarro.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and deſire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave ſuch a deſcription of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a reſolution which he had already taken. From his own obſervation of American manners during his long ſervice in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from ſeizing Montezuma, he knew of what conſequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpoſe, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithſtanding the character he had aſſumed of an ambaſſador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendſhip and aſſiſtance, he determined to avail himſelf of the unſuſpicious ſimplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his profeſſions, and to ſeize his perſon during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his ſcheme with the ſame deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no diſgrace on himſelf or his country. He divided his

his cavalry into three ſmall ſquadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry was formed in one body, except twenty of moſt tried courage, whom he kept near his own perſon to ſupport him in the dangerous ſervice which he reſerved for himſelf; the artillery, conſiſting of two field-pieces* and the croſs-bowmen, were placed oppoſite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the ſquare, and not to move until the ſignal for action was given.

1532.

EARLY in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was ſolicitous to appear with the greateſt ſplendour and magnificence in his firſt interview with the ſtrangers, the preparations for this were ſo tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, leſt the order of the proceſſion ſhould be deranged, he moved ſo ſlowly, that the Spaniards became impatient and apprehenſive that ſome ſuſpicion of their intention might be the cauſe of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro diſpatched one of his officers with freſh aſſurances of his friendly diſpoſition. At length the Inca approached. Firſt of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dreſs, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himſelf, ſitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almoſt covered with plates of gold and ſilver enriched with precious ſtones, was carried on the ſhoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came ſome chief officers of his court, carried in the ſame manner. Several bands of ſingers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thouſand men.

Nov. 16. Viſited by the Inca.

As

* Xerez, p. 194.

BOOK VI.

1532.

Strange harangue of father Valverde.

As the Inca drew near the Spaniſh quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long diſcourſe explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the ſufferings and reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the tranſmiſſion of his apoſtolic power by ſucceſſion to the popes, the donation made to the king of Caſtile by pope Alexander of all the regions in the New World. In conſequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Chriſtian faith, to acknowledge the ſupreme juriſdiction of the pope, and to ſubmit to the king of Caſtile as his lawful ſovereign; promiſing, if he complied inſtantly with this requiſition, that the Caſtilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exerciſe of his royal authority; but if he ſhould impiouſly refuſe to obey this ſummons, he denounced war againſt him in his maſter's name, and threatened him with the moſt dreadful effects of his vengeance.

Reply of the Inca.

This ſtrange harangue, unfolding deep myſteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a diſtinct idea to an American, was ſo lamely tranſlated by an unſkilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spaniſh tongue, and incapable of expreſſing himſelf with propriety in the language of the Inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehenſible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with aſtoniſhment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with obſerving, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary ſucceſſion; and

and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign prieſt ſhould pretend to diſpoſe of territories which did not belong to him; that if ſuch a prepoſterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful poſſeſſor, refuſed to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors; nor would he forſake the ſervice of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worſhip the God of the Spaniards, who was ſubject to death; that with reſpect to other matters contained in his diſcourſe, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now underſtand their meaning, he deſired to know where he had learned things ſo extraordinary. "In this book," anſwered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This," ſays he, "is ſilent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it with diſdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Chriſtians, to arms; the word of God is inſulted; avenge this profanation on thoſe impious dogs *."

1532.

PIZARRO, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty reſtrained his ſoldiers, eager to ſeize the rich ſpoils of which they had now ſo near a view, immediately gave the ſignal of aſſault. At once the martial muſic ſtruck up, the cannon and muſkets began to fire, the horſe ſallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry ruſhed on ſword in hand. The Peruvians, aſtoniſhed at the ſuddenneſs of an attack which they did not expect, and diſmayed with the deſtructive effects of the fire-arms, and the irreſiſtible impreſſion of the cavalry, fled with univerſal conſternation on every ſide, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themſelves. Pizarro, at the head of

Pizarro attacks the Peruvians.

* See NOTE XXXIV.

BOOK VI. 1532.

of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered at resistance. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca *.

and seizes the Inca.

THE plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

AT first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him with

Dejection of the Inca.

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* See NOTE XXXV.

BOOK VI.

1532.

with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the Inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which, indeed, they were no-wise solicitous to conceal, and by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

His offer of a ransom.

ATAHUALPA, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of their gods, or the houses of the Inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atahualpa was now in the custody of his enemies, yet so much were the Peruvians accustomed to respect every mandate issued by their sovereign, that his orders were executed with the greatest alacrity. Soothed with hopes of recovering his liberty by this means, the subjects of the Inca were afraid of endangering his life by forming any other scheme for his relief; and though the force of the empire was still entire, no preparations were made, and no army assembled, to avenge their own wrongs or those of their monarch *.

* Xerez, 205.

1532. The Spaniards visit different provinces.

THE Spaniards remained in Caxamalca tranquil and unmoleſted. Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and inſtead of meeting with any oppoſition, were every where received with marks of the moſt ſubmiſſive reſpect *.

Almagro arrives with a reinforcement.

INCONSIDERABLE as thoſe parties were, and deſirous as Pizarro might be to obtain ſome knowledge of the interior ſtate of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of his main body, if he had not about this time received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with ſuch reinforcement as would almoſt double the number of his followers ‡. The arrival of this long-expected ſuccour was not more agreeable to the Spaniards, than alarming to the Inca. He ſaw the power of his enemies increaſe; and as he knew neither the ſource whence they derived their ſupplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foreſee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might riſe. While diſquieted with ſuch apprehenſions, he learned, that ſome Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had viſited his brother Huaſcar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had repreſented to them the juſtice of his own cauſe, and as an inducement to eſpouſe it, had promiſed them a quantity of treaſure vaſtly exceeding what he had engaged to pay for his ranſom. If the Spaniards ſhould liſten to this propoſal, he perceived his own deſtruction to be inevitable; and ſuſpecting that their inſatiable thirſt for gold would tempt them to lend a favourable ear to it, he determined to ſacrifice his brother's life, that he might ſave his own; and his orders

December.

1533. Huaſcar put to death.

* See NOTE XXXVI. ‡ Xerez, 204. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 1, 2.

ders for this purpoſe were executed, like all his other commands, with ſcrupulous punctuality *. BOOK VI.

1533. The Spaniards make a diviſion of the ſpoil.

MEANWHILE, Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treaſure. A great part of the ſtipulated quantity was now amaſſed, and Atahualpa aſſured the Spaniards, that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteneſs of the provinces where it was depoſited. But ſuch vaſt piles of gold, preſented continually to the view of needy ſoldiers, had ſo inflamed their avarice, that it was impoſſible any longer to reſtrain their impatience to obtain poſſeſſion of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the whole, except ſome pieces of curious fabric, reſerved as a preſent for the emperor. After ſetting apart the fifth due to the crown, and a hundred thouſand peſos as a donative to the ſoldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thouſand five hundred peſos to Pizarro and his followers. The feſtival of St. James, the patron ſaint of Spain, was the day choſen for the partition of this vaſt ſum; and the manner of conducting it ſtrongly marks that ſtrange alliance of fanaticiſm with avarice, which I have more than once had occaſion to point out as a ſtriking feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Though aſſembled to divide the ſpoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion, and cruelty, the tranſaction began with a ſolemn invocation of the name of God, as if they could have expected the guidance of Heaven in diſtributing thoſe wages of iniquity. In this diviſion above eight thouſand peſos, at that time not inferior in value

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Gomara Hiſt. c. 115. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 2. § Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 3.

BOOK VI. 1533.

to as many pounds ſterling in the preſent century, fell to the ſhare of each horſeman, and half that ſum to each foot ſoldier. Pizarro himſelf, and his officers, received dividents in proportion to the dignity of their rank.

The effect of it.

THERE is no example in hiſtory of ſuch a ſudden acquiſition of wealth by military ſervice, nor was ever a ſum ſo great divided among ſo ſmall a number of ſoldiers. Many of them having received a recompence for their ſervices far beyond their moſt ſanguine hopes, were ſo impatient to retire from fatigue and danger in order to ſpend the remainder of their days in their native country, in eaſe and opulence, that they demanded their diſcharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, ſenſible that from ſuch men he could expect neither enterpriſe in action nor fortitude in ſuffering, and perſuaded that wherever they went, the diſplay of their riches would allure adventurers, leſs opulent but more hardy, to his ſtandard, granted their ſuit without reluctance, and permitted above ſixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he ſent to Spain with an account of his ſucceſs, and the preſent deſtined for the emperor *.

The Inca demands his liberty in vain.

THE Spaniards having divided among them the treaſure amaſſed for the Inca's ranſom, he inſiſted with them to fulfil their promiſe of ſetting him at liberty. But nothing was farther from Pizarro's thoughts. During his long ſervice in the New World, he had imbibed thoſe ideas and maxims of his fellow-ſoldiers, which led them to conſider its inhabitants as an inferior race, neither worthy of the name, nor intitled to the rights, of men. In his compact with Atahualpa, he had no other object than to amuſe his captive with ſuch a proſpect

* Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 2. lib. i. c. 38.

prospect of recovering his liberty, as might induce him to lend all the aid of his authority towards collecting the wealth of his kingdom. Having now accomplished this, he no longer regarded his faith; and at the very time when the credulous prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had secretly resolved to bereave him of life. Many circumstances seem to have concurred in promoting him to this action, the most criminal and atrocious that stains the Spanish name, amidst all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conquest of the New World. 1533.

He and the Spaniards mutually jealous.

THOUGH Pizarro had seized the Inca, in imitation of Cortes's conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he did not possess talents for carrying on the same artful plan of policy. Destitute of the temper and address requisite for gaining the confidence of his prisoner, he never reaped all the advantages which might have been derived from being master of his person and authority. Atahualpa was, indeed, a prince of greater abilities and discernment than Montezuma, and seems to have penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual suspicion and distrust accordingly took place between them. The strict attention with which it was necessary to guard a captive of such importance, greatly increased the fatigue of military duty. The utility of keeping him appeared inconsiderable; and Pizarro felt him as an incumbrance, from which he wished to be delivered *.

Almagro and his followers demand his life.

ALMAGRO and his followers had made a demand of an equal share in the Inca's ransom; and though Pizarro had bestowed upon the private men the large gratuity which I have mentioned, and

* Herrera, dec. 5. lib. 3. c. 4.

BOOK VI. 1533.

and endeavoured to ſooth their leader by preſents of great value, they ſtill continued diſſatisfied. They were apprehenſive, that as long as Atahualpa remained a priſoner, Pizarro's ſoldiers would apply whatever treaſure ſhould be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the quantity ſtipulated for his ranſom, and under that pretext exclude them from any part of it. They inſiſted eagerly on putting the Inca to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thereafter be on an equal footing *.

Motives which induced Pizarro to conſent.

PIZARRO himſelf began to be alarmed with accounts of forces aſſembling in the remote provinces of the empire, and ſuſpected Atahualpa of having iſſued orders for that purpoſe. Theſe fears and ſuſpicions were artfully increaſed by Philippillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro had had carried off from Tumbez in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourſe with the captive monarch, he preſumed, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his birth, to raiſe his affections to a *Coya*, or deſcendant of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and ſeeing no proſpect of gratifying that paſſion during the life of the monarch, he endeavoured to fill the ears of the Spaniards with ſuch accounts of his ſecret deſigns and preparations, as might awaken their jealouſy and excite them to cut him off.

WHILE Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Philippillo laboured to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to haſten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached

* Zarate, lib. 2. c. 7. Vega, p. 2. lib. 1. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. 3. c. 4.

tached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were persons of birth and education superior to the rough adventurers with whom they served, were accustomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this respect from persons of such high rank, he delighted in their society; but in the presence of the governor he was uneasy, and overawed. This dread soon came to be mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, what he admired most was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself, whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he shewed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all, without hesitation, returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment, Atahualpa considered him as a mean person, less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death *.

BOOK VI. 1533.

His trial.

But in order to give some colour of justice to this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the Inca with

* Herrera, dec. 5 lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. i c. 38.

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with all the formalities obſerved in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himſelf, and Almagro, with two aſſiſtants were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the proſecution in the king's name; counſellors were choſen to aſſiſt the priſoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court.. Before this ſtrange tribunal, a charge was exhibited ſtill more amazing. It conſiſted of various articles; that Atahualpa, though a baſtard, had diſpoſſeſſed the rightful owner of the throne, and uſurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful ſovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human ſacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that ſince his impriſonment he had waſted and embezzled the royal treaſures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his ſubjects to take arms againſt the Spaniards. On theſe heads of accuſation, ſome of which are ſo ludicrous, others ſo abſurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a ſerious procedure, is not leſs ſurpriſing than his injuſtice, did the court go on to try the ſovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no juriſdiction. With reſpect to each of the articles, witneſſes were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philippillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn beſt ſuited his malevolent intentions. To judges predetermined in their opinion, this evidence appeared ſufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde proſtituted the authority of his ſacred function to confirm this ſentence, and by his ſignature warranted it to be juſt. Aſtoniſhed at his fate, Atahualpa endeavoured to avert it by his tears, by promiſes, and

He is condemned,

and by entreaties, that he might be ſent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to led inſtantly to execution; and what added to the bitterneſs of his laſt moments, the ſame monk who had juſt ratified his doom, offered to conſole, and attempted to convert him. The moſt powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Chriſtian faith, was a promiſe of a mitigation in his puniſhment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a deſire of receiving baptiſm. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, inſtead of being burnt, was ſtrangled at the ſtake *. BOOK VI. 1533. and executed.

HAPPILY for the credit of the Spaniſh nation, even among the profligate adventurers which it ſent forth to conquer and deſolate the New World, there were perſons who retained ſome tincture of the Caſtilian generoſity and honour. Though, before the trial of Atahualpa, Ferdinand Pizarro had ſet out for Spain, and Soto was ſent on a ſeparate command at a diſtance from Caxamalca, this odious tranſaction was not carried on without cenſure and oppoſition. Several officers, and among thoſe ſome of the greateſt reputation and moſt reſpectable families in the ſervice, not only remonſtrated, but proteſted againſt this meaſure of their general, as diſgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and an uſurpation of juriſdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their endeavours were vain. Numbers, and the opinion of ſuch as held every thing to be lawful which they deemed advantageous, prevailed. Several Spaniards proteſt againſt it.

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Xerez, p. 238. Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 36, 37. Gomara Hiſt. c. 117. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

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prevailed. Hiſtory, however, records even the unſucceſsful exertions of virtue with applauſe; and the Spaniſh writers, in relating events where the valour of their nation is more conſpicuous than its humanity, have not failed to preſerve the names of thoſe who made this laudable effort to ſave their country from the infamy of having perpetrated ſuch a crime *.

Diſſolution of government and order in Peru.

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro inveſted one of his ſons with the enſigns of royalty, hoping that a young man without experience might prove a more paſſive inſtrument in his hands, than an ambitious monarch, who had been accuſtomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country, acknowledged Manco Capac, a brother of Huaſcar, as Inca †. But neither poſſeſſed the authority which belonged to a ſovereign of Peru. The violent convulſions into which the empire had been thrown, firſt by the civil war between the two brothers, and then by the invaſion of the Spaniards, had not only deranged the order of the Peruvian government, but almoſt diſſolved its frame. When they beheld their monarch a captive in the power of ſtrangers, and at laſt ſuffering an ignominious death, the people in ſeveral provinces, as if they had been ſet free from every reſtraint of law and decency, broke out into the moſt licentious exceſſes ‡. So many deſcendants of the Sun, after being treated with the utmoſt indignity, had been cut off by Atahualpa, that not only their influence in the ſtate diminiſhed with their number, but the accuſtomed reverence for that ſacred race ſenſibly decreaſed. In conſequence of this ſtate of things, ambitious men

* Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 37. Xerez, i. 235. Herrera, dec 5. lib. iii. c. 5. † Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 7. ‡ Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 12. lib. iii. c. 5.

men in different parts of the empire aſpired to independent authority, and uſurped juriſdiction to which they had no title. The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quito, ſeized the brother and children of his maſter, put them to a cruel death, and diſclaiming any connection with either Inca, endeavoured to eſtabliſh a ſeparate kingdom for himſelf *. BOOK VI. 1533.

Pizarro advances to Cuzco.

THE Spaniards, with pleaſure, beheld the ſpirit of diſcord diffuſing itſelf, and the vigour of government relaxing among the Peruvians. They conſidered thoſe diſorders as ſymptoms of a ſtate haſtening towards its diſſolution. Pizarro no longer heſitated to advance towards Cuzco, and he had received ſuch conſiderable reinforcements, that he could venture, with little danger, to penetrate ſo far into the interior part of the country. The account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca, operated as he had foreſeen. No ſooner did his brother Ferdinand, with the officers and ſoldiers, to whom he had given their diſcharge after the partition of the Inca's ranſom, arrive at Panama, and diſplay their riches in the view of their aſtoniſhed countrymen, than fame ſpread the account with ſuch exaggeration through all the Spaniſh ſettlements on the South ſea, that the governors of Guatimala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly reſtrain the people under their juriſdiction, from abandoning their poſſeſſions, and crowding to that inexhauſtible ſource of wealth which ſeemed to be opened in Peru ‡. In ſpite of every check and regulation, ſuch numbers reſorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 3, 4.

‡ Gomara Hiſt. c. 125. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 5.

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hundred men, after leaving a conſiderable garriſon in St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had aſſembled ſome large bodies of troops to oppoſe his progreſs. Several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated, like all the actions in America; a few Spaniards were killed or wounded; the natives were put to flight with incredible ſlaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet poſſeſſion of that capital. The riches found there, even after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a ſuperſtitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred for their rapacious conquerors, exceeded in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ranſom. But as the Spaniards were now accuſtomed to the wealth of the country, and it came to be parcelled out among a greater number of adventurers, this dividend did not excite the ſame ſurpriſe either from novelty, or the largeneſs of the ſum that fell to the ſhare of each individual †.

DURING the march to Cuzco, the ſon of Atahualpa whom Pizarro treated as Inca, died, and as the Spaniards ſubſtituted no perſon in his place, the title of Manco Capac ſeems to have been univerſally recognized §.

Quito conquered by Benalcazar.

WHILE his fellow-ſoldiers were thus employed, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, an able and enterpriſing officer, was aſhamed of remaining inactive, and impatient to have his name diſtinguiſhed among the diſcoverers and conquerors of the New World. The ſeaſonable arrival of a freſh body of recruits from Panama and Nicaragua, put it in his power to gratify this paſſion. Leaving

† See NOTE XXXVII. § Herrera, dec. 5. lib. v. c. 2.

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Leaving a ſufficient force to protect the infant ſettlement entruſted to his care, he placed himſelf at the head of the reſt, and ſet out to attempt the reduction of Quito, where according to the report of the natives, Atahualpa had left the greateſt part of his treaſure. Notwithſtanding the vaſt diſtance of that city from St. Michael, the difficulty of marching through a mountainous country covered with woods, and the frequent and fierce attacks of the beſt troops in Peru, commanded by a ſkilful leader, the valour, good conduct, and perſeverance of Benalcazar ſurmounted every obſtacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But they met with a cruel mortification there. The natives, now acquainted, to their ſorrow, with the predominant paſſion of their invaders, and knowing how to diſappoint it, had carried off all thoſe treaſures, the proſpect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition, and had ſupported them under all the dangers and hardſhips wherewith they had to ſtruggle in carrying it on *.

Alvarado's expedition.

BENALCAZAR was not the only Spaniſh leader who attacked the kingdom of Quito. The fame of its riches attracted a more powerful enemy. Pedro de Alvarado, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently in the conqueſt of Mexico, having obtained the government of Guatimala as a recompence for his valour, ſoon became diſguſted with a life of uniform tranquillity, and longed to be again engaged in the buſtle of military ſervice. The glory and wealth acquired by the conquerors of Peru heightened this paſſion, and gave it a determined direction. Believing, or pretending to believe, that the kingdom of Quito

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 9. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 11, 12. lib. v. c. 2, 3. lib. vi. c. 3.

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Quito did not lie within the limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, he reſolved to invade it. The high reputation of the commander allured volunteers from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom above two hundred were of ſuch diſtinction as to ſerve on horſeback. He landed at Puerto Viejo, and without ſufficient knowledge of the country, or proper guides to conduct him, attempted to march directly to Quito, by following the courſe of the river Guayquil, and croſſing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this route, one of the moſt impracticable in all America, his troops endured ſuch fatigue in forcing their way through foreſts and marſhes on the low grounds, and ſuffered ſo much from exceſſive cold when they began to aſcend the mountains, that before they reached the plain of Quito, a fifth part of the men and half of their horſes died, and the reſt were ſo much diſpirited and worn out, as to be almoſt unfit for ſervice*. There they met with a body, not of Indians, but of Spaniards, drawn up in hoſtile array againſt them. Pizarro, having received an account of Alvarado's armament, had detached Almagro with ſome troops to oppoſe this formidable invader of his juriſdiction; and theſe were joined by Benalcazar and his victorious party. Alvarado, though ſurpriſed at the ſight of enemies whom he did not expect, advanced boldly to the charge. But by the interpoſition of ſome moderate men in each party, an amicable accommodation took place; and the fatal period, when Spaniards ſuſpended their conqueſts to embrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, was poſtponed a few years. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon Almagro's

* See NOTE XXXVIII.

gro's paying him a hundred thouſand peſos, to defray the expence of this armament. Moſt of his followers remained in the country; and an expedition, which threatened Pizarro and his colony with ruin, contributed to augment its ſtrength *.

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Honours conferred on Pizarro and Almagro.

By this time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver which he imported †, filled the kingdom with no leſs aſtoniſhment than they had excited in Panama and the adjacent provinces. Pizarro was received by the emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a preſent ſo rich as to exceed any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquiſitions in America, even after they had been ten years maſters of Mexico. In recompence of his brother's ſervices, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of ſeventy leagues, extending along the coaſt, to the ſouthward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro received the honours which he had ſo long deſired. The title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with juriſdiction over two hundred leagues of a country, ſtretching beyond the ſouthern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand himſelf did not go unrewarded. He was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a diſtinction always acceptable to a Spaniſh gentleman; and ſoon ſet out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many perſons of higher rank, than had yet ſerved in that country ‖.

Some

* Zarate, lib. 2. c. 10—13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 1, 2, 9, &c. Gomara Hiſt. c. 126, &c. Remeſal. Hiſt. Guatimal. lib. iii. c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 1, 2. 7, 8.

† See NOTE XXXIX. ‖ Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

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Beginning of dissentions between Pizarro and Almagro.

Some account of his negociations reached Peru before he arrived there himself. Almagro no sooner learned that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, than, pretending that Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, lay within it boundaries, he attempted to render himself master of that important station. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro prepared to oppose him. Each of the contending parties was supported by powerful adherents, and the dispute was on the point of being terminated by the sword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. The reconciliation between him and Almagro had never been cordial. The treachery of Pizarro in engrossing to himself all the honours and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his associate, was always present in both their thoughts. The one, conscious of his own perfidy, did not expect forgiveness; the other, feeling that he had been deceived, was impatient to be avenged; and though avarice and ambition had induced them not only to dissemble their sentiments, but even to act in concert while in pursuit of wealth and power, no sooner did they obtain possession of these, than the same passions which had formed this temporary union, gave rise to jealousy and discord. To each of them was attached a small band of interested dependents, who, with the malicious art, peculiar to such men, heightened their suspicions, and magnified every appearance of offence. But with all those seeds of enmity in their minds, and thus assiduously cherished, each was so thoroughly acquainted with the abilities and courage of his rival, that they equally dreaded the consequences of an open rupture. The fortunate arrival of Pizarro at Cuzco, and the address mingled with firmness, which he manifested in his expostulations with Almagro and his partizans, averted that evil for the present. A new reconciliation took place; the chief

article of which was, that Almagro ſhould attempt the conqueſt of Chili; and if he did not find in that province an eſtabliſhment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro, by way of indemnification, ſhould yield up to him a part of Peru. This new agreement was confirmed with the ſame ſacred ſolemnities as their firſt contract, and obſerved with as little fidelity *. BOOK VI. 1534. June 12.

Soon after he concluded this important tranſaction, Pizarro marched back to the countries on the ſea coaſt, and as he now enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, undiſturbed by any enemy, either Spaniſh or Indian, he applied himſelf with that perſevering ardour, which diſtinguiſhes his character, to introduce a form of regular government, into the extenſive provinces ſubject to his authority. Though ill qualified by his education to enter into any diſquiſition concerning the principles of civil policy, and little accuſtomed by his former habits of life to attend to its arrangements, his natural ſagacity ſupplied the want both of ſcience and experience. He diſtributed the country into various diſtricts; he appointed proper magiſtrates to preſide in each; and eſtabliſhed regulations concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians, extremely ſimple but well calculated to promote the public proſperity. But, though, for the preſent he adapted his plan to the infant ſtate of his colony, his aſpiring mind looked forward to its future grandeur. He conſidered himſelf as laying the foundation of a great empire; and deliberated long, and with much ſolicitude, in what place he ſhould fix the ſeat of government. Cuzco, Regulations of Pizarro. Foundation of Lima.

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. Benzo, lib. iii, c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vii. c. 8.

BOOK VI. 1534. the imperial city of the Incas, was ſituated in a corner of the empire, about four hundred miles from the ſea, and much farther from Quito, a province of whoſe value he had formed an high idea. No other ſettlement of the Peruvians was ſo conſiderable as to merit the name of a town, or to allure the Spaniards to fix their reſidence in it. But, in marching through the country, Pizarro had been ſtruck with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the moſt extenſive and beſt cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a ſmall river, of the ſame name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the diſtance of ſix miles from Callao, the moſt commodious harbour in the Pacific Ocean, he founded a city which he deſtined to be the capital of his government. He gave it the name of Ciudad de los 1535. January 18. Reyes, either from the circumſtance of having laid the firſt ſtone, at that ſeaſon when the church celebrates the feſtival of the Three Kings, or, as is more probable, in honour of Juanna and Charles, the ſovereigns of Caſtile. This name it ſtill retains among the Spaniards, in all legal and formal deeds; but it is better known to foreigners by that of *Lima*, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley, in which it is ſituated. Under his inſpection, the buildings advanced with ſuch rapidity, that it ſoon aſſumed the form of a city, which, by a magnificent palace that he erected for himſelf, and by the ſtately houſes built by ſeveral of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, ſome indication of its ſubſequent grandeur *.

Almagro invades Chili. In conſequence of what had been agreed with Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili; and as he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the virtues

* Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 12. lib. vii. c. 13. Calancha Coronica, lib. 1. c. 37. Barnuevo, Lima fundada, ii. 294.

tues moſt admired by ſoldiers, boundleſs liberality and fearleſs courage, his ſtandard was followed by five hundred and ſeventy men, the greateſt body of Europeans that had hitherto been aſſembled in Peru. From impatience to finiſh the expedition, or from that contempt of hardſhip and danger acquired by all the Spaniards who had ſerved long in America, Almagro, inſtead of advancing along the level country on the coaſt, choſe to march acroſs the mountains by a route that was ſhorter indeed, but almoſt impracticable. In this attempt his troops were expoſed to every calamity which men can ſuffer, from fatigue, from famine, and from the rigour of the climate in thoſe elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the degree of cold is hardly inferior to what is felt within the polar circle. Many of them periſhed; and the ſurvivors, when they deſcended into the fertile plains of Chili, had new difficulties to encounter. They found there a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent, and their bodily conſtitution, as well as vigour of ſpirit, nearly reſembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the firſt appearance of the Spaniards, and ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the operations of their cavalry and the effects of their fire-arms, the Chileſe ſoon recovered ſo far from their ſurpriſe, as not only to defend themſelves with obſtinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceneſs than any American nation had hitherto diſcovered. The Spaniards, however continued to penetrate into the country, and collected ſome conſiderable quantities of gold; but were ſo far from thinking of making any ſettlement amidſt ſuch formidable neighbours, that, in ſpite of all the experience and valour of their leader, the final iſſue of the expedition ſtill remained extremely dubious, when they were recalled from

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it by an unexpected revolution in Peru *. The causes of this I shall endeavour to trace to their source.

An insurrection of the Peruvians.

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru from every Spanish colony in America, and all with such high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at once, that, to men possessed with notions so extravagant, any mention of acquiring wealth gradually, and by schemes of patient industry, would have been not only a disappointment, but an insult. In order to find occupation for men who could not with safety be allowed to remain inactive, Pizarro encouraged some of the most distinguished officers who had lately joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose; and about the time that Almagro set out for Chili, they marched into remote districts of the country.

Its rise,

No sooner did Manco Capac, the Inca, observe the inconsiderate security of the Spaniards in thus dispersing their troops, and that only a handful of men remained in Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, than he thought that the happy period was at length come for vindicating his own rights, avenging the wrongs of his country, and extirpating its oppressors. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards, who allowed him to reside in the palace of his ancestors at Cuzco, he found means of communicating his scheme to the persons who were entrusted with the execution of it. Among people accustomed to revere their sovereign as a divinity, every hint of his will carries the authority of a command; and they themselves were now convinced, by the daily increase in

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 1. Gomara Hist. c. 131. Vega, p. 2. lib. ii. c. 20. Ovalle Hist. de Chile, lib. iv. c. 15, &c. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vii. c. 9. lib. x. c. 1, &c.

in the number of their invaders, that the fond hopes which they had long entertained of their voluntary departure were altogether vain. All perceived that a vigorous effort of the whole nation was requiſite to expel them, and the preparations for it were carried on with the ſecrecy and ſilence peculiar to Americans. BOOK VI. 1535.

AFTER ſome unſucceſsful attempts of the Inca to make his eſcape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening to arrive at that time in Cuzco, he obtained permiſſion from him to attend a great feſtival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that ſolemnity, the great men of the empire were aſſembled. As ſoon as the Inca joined them, the ſtandard of war was erected; and in a ſhort time all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontier of Chili, were in arms. Many Spaniards, living ſecurely on the ſettlements allotted them, were maſſacred. Several detachments, as they marched careleſsly through a country which ſeemed to be tamely ſubmiſſive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. An army amounting (if we may believe the Spaniſh writers) to two hundred thouſand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers endeavoured to defend with only a hundred and ſeventy Spaniards. Another formidable body inveſted Lima, and kept the governor cloſely ſhut up. There was no longer any communication between the two cities; the numerous forces of the Peruvians ſpreading over the country, intercepted every meſſenger; and as the parties in Cuzco and Lima were equally unacquainted with the fate of their countrymen, each boded the worſt concerning the other, and imagined that they themſelves were the only perſons who had ſurvived the general extinction of the Spaniſh name in Peru *. and progreſs. 1536.

IT

* Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 28. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Cieca de Leon, c. 82. Gomara Hiſt. c. 135. Herrera, dec. v. lib. viii. c. 5.

BOOK VI.

1536. Siege of Cuzco.

It was at Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in perſon, that the Peruvians made their chief effort. During nine months they carried on the ſiege with inceſſant ardour, and in various forms; and though they diſplayed not the ſame undaunted ferocity as the Mexican warriors, they conducted ſome of their operations in a manner which diſcovered greater ſagacity, and a genius more ſuſceptible of improvement in the military art. They not only obſerved the advantages which the Spaniards derived from their diſcipline and their weapons, but they endeavoured to imitate the former, and turn the latter againſt them. They armed a conſiderable body of their braveſt warriors with the ſwords, the ſpears, and bucklers, which they had taken from the Spaniſh ſoldiers whom they had cut off in different parts of the country. Theſe they endeavoured to marſhal in that regular compact order, to which experience had taught them that the Spaniards were indebted for their irreſiſtible force in action. Some appeared in the field with Spaniſh muſkets, and had acquired ſkill and reſolution enough to uſe them. A few of the boldeſt, among whom was the Inca himſelf, were mounted on the horſes which they had taken, and advanced briſkly to the charge like Spaniſh cavaliers, with their lances in the reſt. It was more by their numbers, however, than by thoſe imperfect eſſays to imitate European arts, and employ European arms, that the Peruvians annoyed the Spaniards *. In ſpite of the valour, heightened by deſpair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered poſſeſſion of one half of his capital; and before the Spaniards could drive him out of it, they loſt Juan Pizarro, the beſt beloved of all the brothers, together with ſome other perſons of note. Worn out

* See NOTE XL.

out with the fatigue of inceſſant duty, diſtreſſed with want of proviſions, and deſpairing of being able any longer to reſiſt an enemy whoſe numbers daily encreaſed, the ſoldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes either of joining their countrymen, if any of them yet ſurvived, or of forcing their way to the ſea, and finding ſome means of eſcaping from a country which had been ſo fatal to the Spaniſh name *. While they were brooding over thoſe deſponding thoughts, which their officers laboured in vain to diſpel, Almagro appeared ſuddenly in the neighbourhood of Cuzco.

1536.

Arrival of Almagro,

THE accounts tranſmitted to Almagro concerning the general inſurrection of the Peruvians, were ſuch as would have induced him, without heſitation, to relinquiſh the conqueſt of Chili, and haſten to the aid of his countrymen. But in this reſolution he was confirmed by a motive leſs generous, but more intereſting. By the ſame meſſenger who brought him intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his juriſdiction. Upon conſidering the tenor of it, he deemed it manifeſt beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his government, and he was equally ſolicitous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering poſſeſſion of their capital, and to wreſt it out of the hands of the Pizarros. From impatience to accompliſh both, he ventured to return by a new route; and in marching through the ſandy plains of the coaſt, he ſuffered, from heat and drought, calamities of a new ſpecies, hardly inferior to thoſe in which he had been involved by cold and famine on the ſummits of the Andes.

and motives of his conduct.

HIS

* Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4.

BOOK VI.

1537. His operations.

His arrival at Cuzco was in a critical moment. The Spaniards and Peruvians fixed their eyes upon him with equal ſolicitude. The former, as he did not ſtudy to conceal his pretenſions, were at a loſs whether to welcome him as a deliverer, or to take precautions againſt him as an enemy. The latter knowing the points in conteſt between him and his countrymen, flattered themſelves that they had more to hope than to dread from his operations. Almagro himſelf, unacquainted with the detail of the events which had happened in his abſence, and ſolicitous to learn the preciſe poſture of affairs, advanced towards the capital ſlowly, and with great circumſpection. Various negociations with both parties were ſet on foot. The Inca conducted them on his part with much addreſs. At firſt he endeavoured to gain the friendſhip of Almagro; and after many fruitleſs overtures, deſpairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by ſurpriſe with a numerous body of choſen troops. But the Spaniſh diſcipline and valour maintained their wonted ſuperiority. The Peruvians were repulſed with ſuch ſlaughter, that a great part of their army diſperſed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without interruption.

Takes poſſeſſion of Cuzco.

The Pizarros, as they had no longer to make head againſt the Peruvians, directed all their attention towards their new enemy, and took meaſures to obſtruct his entry into the capital. Prudence, however reſtrained both parties for ſome time from turning their arms againſt one another, while ſurrounded by common enemies, who would rejoice in the mutual ſlaughter. Different ſchemes of accommodation were propoſed. Each endeavoured to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers.

The

THE generous, open, affable temper of Amagro gained many adherents of the Pizarros, who were diſguſted with their harſh domineering manners. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by Night, ſurpriſed the centinels, or was admitted by them, and inveſting the houſe where the two brothers reſided, compelled them, after an obſtinate defence, to ſurrender at diſcretion. Almagro's claim of juriſdiction over Cuzco was univerſally acknowledged, and a form of adminiſtration eſtabliſhed in his Name * 1537.

Civil war and firſt ſucceſs of Almagro,

Two or three perſons only were killed in this firſt act of civil hoſtility; but it was ſoon followed by ſcenes more bloody. Francis Pizarro having diſperſed the Peruvians who had inveſted Lima, and received ſome conſiderable reinforcements from Hiſpaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonſo de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garriſon were not already cut off by the Peruvians. This body, which, in the infancy of the Spaniſh power in America, muſt be deemed a conſiderable force, advanced near to the capital before they knew that they had any enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. It was with aſtoniſhment that they beheld their countrymen poſted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppoſe their progreſs. Almagro, however, wiſhed rather to gain than to conquer them, and by bribes and promiſes endeavoured to ſeduce their leader. The fidelity of Alvarado remained unſhaken; but his talents for war were not equal to his virtue. Almagro amuſed him with various movements, of which he did not comprehend the meaning, while a large de- July 12.

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 29, 31. Gomara Hiſt. c. 134. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 1—5.

tachment

BOOK VI. 1537.

tachment of choſen ſoldiers paſſed the river by night, fell upon his camp by ſurpriſe, broke his troops before they had time to form, and took him priſoner, together with his principal Officers *.

but does not improve his advantages.

By the ſudden route of this Body, the conteſt between the two rivals muſt have been decided, if Almagro had known as well how to improve as how to gain a victory. Rodrigo Orgognez, an officer of great abilities, who having ſerved under the conſtable Bourbon, when he led the imperial Army to Rome, had been accuſtomed to bold and deciſive counſels, adviſed him inſtantly to iſſue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzola Pizarros, Alvarado, and a few other perſons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious troops to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, though he diſcerned at once the utility of the counſel, and had courage to have carried it into execution, ſuffered himſelf to be influenced by ſentiments unlike thoſe of a ſoldier of fortune grown old in ſervice, and by ſcruples which ſuited not the chief of a party who had drawn his ſword in civil war. Feelings of humanity reſtrained him from ſhedding the blood of his opponents, and the dread of being deemed a rebel deterred him from entering a province which the king had allotted to another. Though he knew that arms muſt terminate the diſpute between him and Pizarro, and reſolved not to ſhun that mode of deciſion, yet, with a timid delicacy preposterous at ſuch a juncture, he was ſo ſolicitous that his rival ſhould be conſidered as the aggreſſor,

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 6. Gom. Hiſt. c. 138. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 33, 34. Herrara, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 9.

greſſor, that he marched quietly back to Cuzco, to wait his approach * BOOK VI.

1537. Diſtreſs of Pizarro.

PIZARRO was ſtill unacquainted with all the intereſting events that had happened near Cuzco. The Account of Almagro's return, of the loſs of the capital, of the death of one brother, of the impriſonment of the other two, and of the defeat of Alvarado, were brought to him at once. Such a tide of misfortunes almoſt overwhelmed a ſpirit which had continued firm and erect under the rudeſt ſhocks of adverſity. But the neceſſity of attending to his own ſafety, as well as the deſire of revenge, preſerved him from ſinking under it. He took meaſures for both with his wonted ſagacity. As he had the command of the ſea-coaſt, and expected conſiderable ſupplies both of men and of military ſtores, it was no leſs his intereſt to gain time, and to avoid action, than it was that of Almagro to precipitate operations, and bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy iſſue. He had recourſe to arts which he had formerly practiſed with ſucceſs, and Almagro was again weak enough to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed with a proſpect of terminating their differences by ſome amicable accommodation. By varying his overtures, and ſhifting his ground as often as it ſuited his purpoſe, ſometimes ſeeming to yield every thing that his rival could deſire, and then retracting all that he had granted, Pizarro dexterouſly protracted the negociation to ſuch a length, that though every day was precious to Almagro, ſeveral months elapſed without coming to any final agreement. While the attention of Almagro, and the officers with whom he conſulted, was occupied in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the ſoldiers

His artful conduct.

* Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 10, 11.

BOOK VI.

soldiers to whose custody they were committed, and not only made their escape themselves, but persuaded sixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany their flight *. Fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the governor scrupled not at one act of perfidy more to procure the release of the other. He proposed, that every point in controversy between Almagro and himself should be submitted to the decision of their sovereign; that until his award was known, each should retain undisturbed possession of whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty, and return instantly to Spain, together with the officers, whom Almagro proposed to send thither to represent the justice of his claims. Obvious as the design of Pizarro was in those propositions, and familiar as his artifices might now have been to his opponent, Almagro, with a credulity approaching to infatuation, relied on his sincerity, and concluded an Agreement on these terms †.

1537.

His preparations for war.

THE moment that Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, the governor, no longer fettered in his operations by anxiety about his brother's life, threw off every disguise which his concern for it had obliged him to assume. The treaty was forgotten; pacific and conciliating measures were no more mentioned; it was in the field, he openly declared, and not in the cabinet; by arms, and not by negociation, that it must now be determined who should be master of Peru. The rapidity of his preparations suited such a decisive resolution. Seven hundred men were soon ready to march towards Cuzco. The command

1538.

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 14.

† Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 9. Gomara Hist. c. 140. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 35.

command of these was given to his two brothers, in whom he could perfectly confide for the execution of his most violent schemes, as they were urged on not only by the enmity flowing from family rivalship, but animated with a desire of vengeance, excited by recollection of recent disgrace and sufferings. After an unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains in the direct road between Lima and Cuzco, they marched towards the south along the coast as far as Nasca, and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital. Almagro, instead of harkening to some of his officers, who advised him to attempt the defence of those difficult passes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. Two reasons seem to have induced him to take this resolution. His followers amounted hardly to five hundred, and he was afraid of weakening such a feeble body, by sending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded that of the adverse party, both in number and discipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himself of that advantage. BOOK VI. 1538.

His army marches to Cuzco.

THE Pizarros advanced without any obstruction, but what arose from the nature of the desert and horrid regions through which they marched. As soon as they reached the plain, both factions were equally impatient to bring this long-protracted contest to an issue. Though countrymen and friends, the subjects of the same sovereign, and each with the royal standard displayed; and though they beheld the mountains that surrounded the plain in which they were drawn up covered with a vast multitude of Indians, assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party

BOOK VI. 1538.

party remained master of the field; so fell and implacable was the rancour which had taken possession of every breast, that not one pacific counsel, not a single overture towards accommodation proceeded from either side. Unfortunately for Almagro, he was so worn out with the fatigues of service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this crisis of his fate, he could not exert his wonted activity; and he was oblived to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not possess the same ascendant either over the spirit or affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accustomed to follow and revere.

April 26. Almagro defeated,

THE conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage. On the side of Almagro, were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well-disciplined musketeers, which, on receiving an account of the insurrection of the Indians, the emperor had sent from Spain*. As the use of fire-arms was not frequent among the adventurers in America †, hastily equipped for service, at their own expence, this small band of soldiers, regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well-sustained fire bore down horse and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavoured to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the route became general. The barbarity of the conquerors stained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; the meanness of private revenge instigated others

* Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 8. † Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8.

thers to ſingle out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and ſeveral officers of diſtinction were maſſacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty ſoldiers fell in the field; a large proportion, where the number of combatants was few, and the heat of the conteſt ſoon over. Almagro, though ſo feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horſe, had inſiſted on being carried in a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmoſt agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at laſt beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the paſſionate indignation of a veteran leader long accuſtomed to victory. He endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight, but was taken priſoner, and guarded with the ſtricteſt vigilance *. BOOK VI. 1538. and taken.

THE Indians, inſtead of executing the reſolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the hiſtory of the New World, there is not a more ſtriking inſtance of the wonderful aſcendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that after ſeeing one of the contending parties ruined and diſperſed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune preſented an opportunity of attacking them with ſuch advantage †.

CUZCO was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a conſiderable booty, conſiſting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treaſures, and partly of the wealth amaſſed by their antagoniſts from the ſpoils of Peru and Chili. But ſo far did this, New expeditions.

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11, 12. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 36—38. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 10—12. lib. iv. c. 1—6.

† Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 38.

BOOK VI. 1538.

this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompence which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify ſuch extravagant expectations, had recourſe to the ſame expedient which his brother had employed on a ſimilar occaſion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent aſſuming ſpirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his moſt active officers to attempt the diſcovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto ſubmitted to the Spaniards. To every ſtandard erected by the leaders who undertook any of thoſe new expeditions, volunteers reſorted with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's ſoldiers joined them; and thus Pizarro had the ſatisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his diſcontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies *.

Almagro tried,

ALMAGRO himſelf remained for ſeveral months in cuſtody, under all the anguiſh of ſuſpence. For although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence conſtrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the ſoldiers who had ſerved under him, as well as ſeveral of their own followers in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuzco. As ſoon as they ſet out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treaſon, formally tried, and condemned to die. The ſentence aſtoniſhed him; and though he had often braved death with an undaunted ſpirit in the field, its approach, under this ignominious form, appalled him ſo much, that he had recourſe to

condemned,

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gom. Hiſt. c. 141. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 7.

to abject ſupplications, unworthy of his former fame. He beſought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendſhip between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the ſucceſs and proſperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in oppoſition to the repeated remonſtrances of his own moſt attached friends, he had ſpared their lives when he had them in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to ſuffer him to paſs the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with Heaven. The intreaties, ſays a Spaniſh hiſtorian, of a man ſo much beloved, touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a hard eye. But the brothers remained inflexible. As ſoon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was ſtrangled in priſon, and afterwards publickly beheaded. He ſuffered in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and left one ſon by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a priſoner in Lima, he named as ſucceſſor to his government, purſuant to a power which the emperor had granted him *.

1538. and put to death.

1539. Deliberations of the court of Spain concerning the ſtate of Peru.

As, during the civil diſſenſions of Peru, all intercourſe with Spain was ſuſpended, the detail of the extraordinary tranſactions there did not ſoon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the firſt intelligence was brought thither by ſome of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cauſe; and they related what had happened, with every circumſtance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the moſt ſolemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gom. Hiſt. c. 141. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 39. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 9. lib. v. c. 1.

BOOK VI. 1539.

with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived ſoon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary ſplendor, endeavoured to efface the impreſſion which their accuſations had made, and to juſtify his brother and himſelf, by repreſenting Almagro as the aggreſſor. The emperor and his miniſters, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was moſt criminal, clearly diſcerned the fatal tendency of their diſſenſions. It was obvious, that while the leaders, entruſted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which ſhould have been turned againſt the common enemy, in deſtroying one another, all attention to the public good muſt ceaſe; and there was reaſon to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which their diſunion preſented to them, and extirpate both the victors and the vanquiſhed. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was ſo defective and ſuſpicious, and the ſcene of action ſo remote, it was almoſt impoſſible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that ſhould be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the ſituation of the parties, and the circumſtances of affairs, might alter ſo entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Vaca de Caſtro ſent thither with ample powers.

NOTHING therefore remained but to ſend a perſon to Peru, veſted with extenſive and diſcretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the poſture of affairs with his own eyes, and enquiring upon the ſpot, into the conduct of the different leaders, ſhould be authoriſed to eſtabliſh the government in that form which he deemed moſt conducive to the intereſt of the parent ſtate, and the welfare of the colony. The man ſelected for this important charge was Chriſtoval Vaca de Caſtro,

Caſtro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmneſs, juſtified the choice. His inſtructions, though ample, were not ſuch as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aſpect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor ſtill alive, he was to aſſume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard againſt giving any juſt cauſe of offence to a man who had merited ſo highly of his country. But if Pizarro was dead, he was entruſted with a commiſſion, that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his ſucceſſor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, ſeems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his meaſures; for at the very time that the court ſeemed ſo ſolicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arreſted at Madrid, and confined to a priſon, where he remained above twenty years *. BOOK VI. 1539.

1540. Pizarro divides Peru among his followers.

WHILE Vaca de Caſtro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, conſidering himſelf, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled poſſeſſor of that vaſt empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerers; and had this diviſion been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to beſtow was ſufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this tranſaction not with the equity and candour of a judge, attentive to diſcover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal ſpirit of a party leader. Large diſtricts, in parts of the country

* Gomara Hiſt. c. 142. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 40. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 10, 11. lib. x. c. 1.

BOOK VI. 1540.

moſt cultivated and populous, were ſet apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents and favourites. To others, lots leſs valuable and inviting were aſſigned. The followers of Almagro, amongſt whom were many of the original adventurers, to whoſe valour and perſeverance Pizarro was indebted for his ſucceſs, were totally excluded from any portion in thoſe lands, towards the acquiſition of which they had contributed ſo largely. As the vanity of every individual ſets an immoderate value upon his own ſervices, and the idea of each, concerning the recompence due to them, roſe gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conqueſts extended, all who were diſappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly againſt the rapaciouſneſs and partiality of the governor. The partiſans of Almagro murmured in ſecret, and meditated revenge *.

Progreſs of the Spaniſh arms.

RAPID as the progreſs of the Spaniards in South America had been ſince Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet ſatisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into ſeveral new provinces, and though ſome of them were expoſed to great hardſhips in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others ſuffered diſtreſs not inferior amidſt the woods and marſhes of the plains, they made diſcoveries and conqueſts which extended their knowledge of the country, as well as added to their power. Pedro de Valdivia re-aſſumed Almagro's ſcheme of invading Chili, and, notwithſtanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their poſſeſſions, made ſuch Progreſs in the conqueſt of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the eſtabliſhment of the Spaniſh

* Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 2. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 5

1540.

Remarkable expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro.

niſh dominion there *. But of all the enterpriſes undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the moſt remarkable. The governor, who ſeems to have reſolved that no perſon in Peru ſhould poſſeſs any ſtation of diſtinguiſhed eminence or authority but thoſe of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He inſtructed him to attempt the diſcovery and conqueſt of the country to the eaſt of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable ſpices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no leſs ambitious of acquiring diſtinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult ſervice. He ſet out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty ſoldiers, near one half of whom were horſemen, with four thouſand Indians to carry their proviſions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, exceſs of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accuſtomed, proved fatal to the greater part of the wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robuſt, and inured to a variety of climates, ſuffered conſiderably, and loſt ſome men; but when they deſcended into the low country, their diſtreſs increaſed. During two months it rained inceſſantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their cloaths †. The vaſt plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudeſt and leaſt induſtrious tribes in the New World, yielded little ſubſiſtence. They could not advance a ſtep but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marſhes.

Hardſhips they endure

Such

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 13. Ovale, lib. ii, c. 1, &c.

† Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2.

BOOK VI. 1540.

Such inceſſant toil, and continual ſcarcity of food, ſeem more than ſufficient to have exhauſted and diſpirited any troops. But the fortitude and perſeverance of the Spaniards in the ſixteenth century were inſuperable. Allured by frequent but falſe accounts of rich countries before them, they perſiſted in ſtruggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whoſe waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, both in conveying them over rivers, in procuring proviſions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty ſoldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The ſtream carried them down with ſuch rapidity, that they were ſoon far a-head of their countrymen, who followed ſlowly and with difficulty by land.

Deſerted by Orellana.

At this diſtance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aſpiring mind, began to fancy himſelf independent, and, tranſported with the predominant paſſion of the age, he formed the ſcheme of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a diſcoverer, by following the courſe of the Maragnon, until it joined the ocean, and by ſurveying the vaſt regions through which it flows. This ſcheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-ſoldiers in a pathleſs deſert, where they had hardly any hopes of ſucceſs, or even of ſafety, but what were founded on the ſervice which they expected from the bark, his crime is, in ſome meaſure, balanced by the glory of having ventured, upon a navigation of near two thouſand leagues, through unknown nations, in a veſſel haſtily conſtructed with green timber,

timber, and by very unſkilful hands, without provi-
ſions, without a compaſs, or a pilot. But his
courage and alacrity ſupplied every defect. Com-
mitting himſelf fearleſsly to the guidance of the
ſtream, the Napo bore him along to the ſouth,
until he reached the great channel of the Marag-
non. Turning with it towards the coaſt, he held
on his courſe in that direction. He made fre-
quent deſcents on both ſides the river, ſometimes
ſeizing by force of arms the proviſions of the
fierce ſavages ſeated on its banks, and ſometimes
procuring a ſupply of food by a friendly inter-
courſe with more gentle tribes. After a long ſe-
ries of dangers, which he encountered with a-
mazing fortitude, and of diſtreſſes which he ſup-
ported with no leſs magnanimity, he reached the
ocean *, where new perils awaited him. Theſe
he likewiſe ſurmounted, and got ſafe to the Spa-
niſh ſettlement in the iſland Cubagua; from thence
he ſailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travel-
lers who viſit regions unknown to the reſt of
mankind, and the art of an adventurer, ſolicitous
to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompt-
ing him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of
the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He
pretended to have diſcovered nations ſo rich, that
the roofs of their temples were covered with plates
of gold; and deſcribed a republic of women ſo
warlike and powerful, as to have extended their
dominion over a conſiderable tract of the fertile
plains which he had viſited. Extravagant as thoſe
tales were, they gave riſe to an opinion, that a
region abounding with gold, diſtinguiſhed by the
name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Ama-
zons, were to be found in this part of the New
World; and ſuch is the propenſity of mankind
to believe what is wonderful, that it has been
ſlowly, and with difficulty, that reaſon and obſer-
vation

BOOK VI.

1540. Sails down the Maragnon.

* See NOTE XLI.

BOOK VI.

vation have exploded thoſe fables. The voyage, however, even when ſtripped of every romantic embelliſhment, deſerves to be recorded, not only as one of the moſt memorable occurrences in that adventrous age, but as the firſt event that led to any certain knowledge of thoſe immenſe regions that ſtretch eaſtward from the Andes to the ocean*.

1540.

Diſtreſs of Pizarro.

No words can deſcribe the conſternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himſelf to ſuſpect that a man, whom he had entruſted with ſuch an important command, could be ſo baſe and ſo unfeeling, as to deſert him at ſuch a juncture. But imputing his abſence from the place of rendezvous to ſome unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to ſee the bark appear with a ſupply of

1541.

proviſions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to periſh in the deſert, becauſe he had the courage to remonſtrate againſt his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime; and his followers perceived at once their own deſperate ſituation, when deprived of their only reſource. The ſpirit of the ſtouteſt hearted veteran ſunk within him, and all demanded to be led back inſtantly. Pizarro, though he aſſumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppoſe their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardſhips greater than thoſe they had endured in their progreſs outward, without the alluring hopes which

* Zarate, lib. iv. c. 4. Gomara Hiſt. c. 86. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 4. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ix. c. 2,—5. Rodriguez El Maragnon y Amazonas, lib. i. c. 3.

which then ſoothed and animated them under their ſufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horſes, to devour the moſt loathſome reptiles, and even to knaw the leather of their ſaddles and ſword-belts. Four thouſand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, periſhed in this wild diſaſtrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only four-ſcore got back to Quito. Theſe were naked like ſavages, and ſo emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of ſpectres than of men *.

1541.

Number of malcontents in Peru.

But, inſtead of returning to enjoy the repoſe which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him, than thoſe through which he had paſſed. From the time that his brother made that partial diviſion of his conqueſts which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, conſidering themſelves as proſcribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in deſpair reſorted to Lima, where the houſe of young Almagro was always open to them, and the ſlender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was ſpent in affording them ſubſiſtence. The warm attachment with which every perſon who ſerved under the elder Almagro devoted himſelf to his intereſts, was quickly transferred to his ſon, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and poſſeſſed all the qualities which captivate the affections

* Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2—5. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 3, 4, 5, 14. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 7, 8. lib. ix. c. 2—5. dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 14. Pizar. Varones Illuſtr. 349, &c.

BOOK VI

affections of ſoldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dextrous at all martial exerciſes, bold, open, generous, he ſeemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conſcious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him inſtructed in every ſcience becoming a gentleman; the accompliſhments which he had acquired, heightened the reſpect of his followers, as they gave him diſtinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own diſtreſſes. Many of them, deſtitute of common neceſſaries*, and weary of loitering away life, a burthen to their chief, or to ſuch of their aſſociates as had ſaved ſome remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiſcation, longed impatiently for an occaſion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their miſery. Their frequent cabals did not paſs unobſerved, and the governor was warned to be on his guard againſt men who meditated ſome deſperate deed, and had reſolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of perſons whoſe poverty rendered their machinations of little conſequence, he diſregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain, ſaid he careleſsly, about my life; it is perfectly ſafe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment put him to death who dares to harbour a thought againſt it." This ſecurity gave the Almagrians full leiſure to digeſt and ripen every part of their ſcheme; and Juan de

1541. Conſider young Almagro as their leader.

Conſpire againſt the life of Pizarro,

* See NOTE LXII.

de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the lead in their conſultations, with all the zeal which that connection inſpired, and with all the authority which the aſcendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him. BOOK VI. 1541.

and kill him.

On Sunday, the twenty-ſixth of June, at mid-day, the ſeaſon of tranquillity and repoſe in all ſultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the moſt determined conſpirators, ſallied out of Almagro's houſe in complete armour; and drawing their ſwords, as they advanced haſtily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die." Their aſſociates, warned of their motions by a ſignal, were in arms at different ſtations ready to ſupport them. Though Pizarro was uſually ſurrounded by ſuch a numerous train of attendants as ſuited the magnificence of the moſt opulent ſubject of the age in which he lived, yet as he was juſt riſen from table, and moſt of his own domeſtics had retired to their own apartments, the conſpirators paſſed through the two outer courts of the palace unobſerved. They were at the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his maſter, who was converſing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whoſe ſteady mind no form of danger could appal, ſtarting up, called for arms, and commanded Franciſco de Chaves to make faſt the door. But that officer, who did not retain ſo much preſence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the ſtair-caſe, wildly aſked the conſpirators what they meant, and whither they were going? Inſtead of anſwering, they ſtabbed him to the heart, and burſt into the hall. Some of the perſons who were there threw themſelves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing

BOOK VI. drawing their ſwords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conſpirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, ruſhed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his ſword and buckler, defended the entry, and ſupported by his half-brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal conteſt with intrepidity worthy of his paſt exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. "Courage, cried he, companions, we are yet enow to make thoſe traitors repent of their audacity." But the armour of the conſpirators protected them, while every thruſt they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defendants were mortally wounded. The governor, ſo weary that he could hardly wield his ſword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiouſly aimed at him, received a deadly thruſt full in his throat, ſunk to the ground, and expired.

1541.

Almagro acknowledged as his ſucceſſor.

As ſoon as he was ſlain, the aſſaſſins ran out into the ſtreets, and waving their bloody ſwords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their aſſociates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in ſolemn proceſſion through the city, and aſſembling the magiſtrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful ſucceſſor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houſes of ſeveral of his adherents, were pillaged by the ſoldiers, who had the ſatisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of thoſe through whoſe hands all the wealth of Peru had paſſed*.

THE

* Zarate, lib. iv. c. 6—8. Gomara Hiſt. c. 144, 145. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 5—7. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 4—7. Pizarro Var. Illuſt. p. 183.

1541.

THE boldneſs and ſucceſs of the conſpiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many ſoldiers to his ſtandard. Every adventurer of deſperate fortune, all who were diſſatisfied with Pizarro, and, from the rapaciouſneſs of his government in the latter years of his life, the number of malcontents was conſiderable, declared without heſitation, in favour of Almagra, and he was ſoon at the head of eight hundred of the moſt gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience diſqualified him from taking the command of them himſelf, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro ſpeedily collected ſuch a reſpectable force, the acquieſcence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous aſſaſſination of a man to whom his country was ſo highly indebted, filled every impartial perſon with horror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretenſions, led others to conſider him as an uſurper. The officers who commanded in ſome provinces refuſed to recognize his authority, until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal ſtandard was erected, and preparations made to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

New appearances of diſcord.

THOSE ſeeds of diſcord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired greater vigour and activity, when the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro was known. After a long and diſaſtrous voyage, he was driven by ſtreſs of weather into a ſmall harbour in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no leſs tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately

Arrival of Vaca de Caſtro,

BOOK VI.

mediately produced the royal commiſſion appointing him governor of Peru, with the ſame privileges and authority; and his juriſdiction was acknowledged, without heſitation, by Benalcazar, Adelantado, or lieutenant-general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the abſence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left at Quito. Vaca de Caſtro not only aſſumed the ſupreme authority, but ſhewed that he poſſeſſed the talents which the exerciſe of it at that juncture required. By his influence and addreſs he ſoon aſſembled ſuch a body of troops, as not only ſet him above all fear of being expoſed to any inſult from the adverſe party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. By diſpatching perſons of confidence to the different Settlements in Peru, with a formal notification of his arrival, and of his commiſſion, he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleaſure with reſpect to the government of the country. By private emiſſaries, he excited ſuch officers as had diſcovered their diſapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifeſt their duty to their ſovereign, by ſupporting the perſon honoured with his commiſſion. Thoſe meaſures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldneſs; the timid ventured to declare their ſentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it neceſſary to chuſe a ſide, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the ſafeſt as well as the moſt juſt *.

1541. who aſſumes the title of governor.

Conduct of Almagro.

ALMAGRO obſerved the rapid progreſs of this ſpirit of diſaffection to his cauſe, and, in order to give

* Benzon, lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 11. Gomara, c. 146, 147. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 1, 2, 3, 7, &c.

give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro, he ſet out at the head of his troops for Cuzco, where the moſt conſiderable body of opponents had erected the royal ſtandard, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the ſkilful guide of his youth and of his counſels, died; and from that time his meaſures were conſpicuous for their violence, but concerted with little ſagacity, and executed with no addreſs. Holguin, with forces far inferior to thoſe of the oppoſite party, was deſcending towards the coaſt at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco. By a very ſimple ſtratagem, he deceived his unexperienced adverſary, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the firſt to declare againſt Almagro as an uſurper. 1542.

Progreſs of Vaca de Caſtro.

Soon after, Vaca de Caſtro entered the camp with the troops which he brought from Quito, and erecting the royal ſtandard before his own tent, he declared, that, as governor, he would diſcharge in perſon all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenour of his paſt life to the habits of a ſedentary and pacific profeſſion, he at once aſſumed the activity and diſcovered the diciſion of an officer long accuſtomed to command. Knowing his ſtrength to be now far ſuperior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the conteſt by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining pardon for a crime ſo atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of deciſion. They met at Chupas, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animoſity inſpired by the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerneſs of revenge, and the laſt efforts of deſpair. Sept. 16.

BOOK VI.

ſpair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at laſt for Vaca de Caſtro. The ſuperior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Franciſco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro with a gallant ſpirit, worthy of a better cauſe, and deſerving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquiſhed, eſpecially ſuch as were conſcious that they might be charged with being acceſſary to the aſſaſſination of Pizarro, ruſhing on the ſwords of the enemy, choſe to fall like ſoldiers, rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men, the total amount of combatants on both ſides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was ſtill greater *.

1542. Defeats Almagro.

If the military talents diſplayed by Vaca de Caſtro, both in the council and in the field, ſurpriſed the adventurers in Peru, they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid diſpenſer of juſtice, and perſuaded that it required examples of extraordinary ſeverity to reſtrain the licentious ſpirit of ſoldiers ſo far removed from the ſeat of government, he proceeded directly to try his priſoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to ſuffer the death of traitors, others were baniſhed from Peru. Their leader, who made his eſcape from the battle, being betrayed by ſome of his officers, was publicly

Severity of his proceedings.

* Zarate, lib. iv. c. 12—19. Gomara, c. 148. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 11—18. Herrara, dec. 7. lib. i. c. 1, 2, 3. lib. iii. c. 1—11.

publicly beheaded in Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the ſpirit of the party, was extinct *. BOOK VI. 1542.

DURING thoſe violent convulſions in Peru, the emperor and his miniſters were intently employed in preparing regulations, by which they hoped not only to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity there, but to introduce a more perfect ſyſtem of internal policy into all their ſettlements in the New World. Rapid and extenſive as the Spaniſh conqueſts in America had been, they were not carried on by any regular exertion of the national force, but by the occaſional efforts of private adventurers. After fitting out a few of the firſt armaments for diſcovering new regions, the court of Spain, during the buſy reigns of Ferdinand and of Charles V. the former the moſt intriguing prince of the age, and the latter the moſt ambitious, was encumbered with ſuch a multiplicity of ſchemes, and involved in war with ſo many nations of Europe, that it had not leiſure to attend to diſtant and leſs intereſting objects. The care of proſecuting diſcovery, or of attempting conqueſt, was abandoned to individuals; and with ſuch ardour did men puſh forward in this new career, on which novelty, the ſpirit of adventure, avarice, ambition, and the hope of meriting heaven, prompted them with combined influence to enter, that in leſs than half a century almoſt the whole of that extenſive empire which Spain now poſſeſſes in the New World was ſubjected to its diminion. As the Spaniſh court contributed nothing towards the various expeditions undertaken in America, it was not intitled to claim much from their ſucceſs. The ſovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and ſilver, was reſerved for the

Conſultations of the emperor concerning his dominions in America.

* Zarate, lib. iv. c. 21. Gomara, c. 150. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 13. lib. vi. c. 1.

BOOK VI. 1542.

crown; every thing elſe was ſeized by the aſſociates as their right. The plunder of the countries which they invaded ſerved to indemnify them for what they had expended in equipping themſelves for the ſervice; and the conquered territory was divided among them, according to rules which cuſtom had introduced, as permanent eſtabliſhments which their ſucceſsful valour merited. In the infancy of thoſe ſettlements, when their extent as well as their value were unknown, many irregularities eſcaped obſervation, and it was found neceſſary to connive at many exceſſes. The conquered people were pillaged with deſtructive rapacity, and their country parcelled out among its new maſters in exorbitant ſhares, far exceeding the higheſt recompence due to their ſervices. The rude conquerors of America, incapable of forming their eſtabliſhments upon any general or extenſive plan of policy, attentive only to private intereſt, unwilling to forego preſent gain from the proſpect of remote or public benefit, ſeem to have had no object but to amaſs ſudden wealth, without regarding what might be the conſequences of the means by which they acquired it. But when time at length diſcovered to the Spaniſh court the importance of its American poſſeſſions, the neceſſity of new-modelling their whole frame became obvious, and in place of the maxims and practices prevalent among military adventurers, it was found requiſite to ſubſtitute the inſtitutions of regular government.

One evil in particular called for an immediate remedy. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru imitated the fatal example of their countrymen ſettled in the iſlands, and employed themſelves in ſearching for gold and ſilver with the ſame inconſiderate eagerneſs. Similar effects followed. The natives employed in this labour by maſters, who

who in impoſing their taſks had no regard either to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, pined away and periſhed ſo faſt, that there was reaſon to apprehend that Spain, inſtead of poſſeſſing countries peopled to ſuch a degree as to be ſuſceptible of progreſſive improvement, would ſoon remain proprietor only of a vaſt uninhabited deſart.

THE emperor and his miniſters were ſo ſenſible of this, and ſo ſolicitous to prevent the extinction of the Indian race, which threatened to render their acquiſitions of no value, that from time to time various laws, which I have mentioned, had been made for ſecuring to that unhappy people more gentle and equitable treatment. But the diſtance of America from the ſeat of empire, the feebleneſs of government in the new colonies, the avarice and audacity of ſoldiers unaccuſtomed to reſtraint, prevented theſe ſalutary regulations from operating with any conſiderable influence. The evil continued to grow, and at this time the emperor found an interval of leiſure from the affairs of Europe to take it into attentive conſideration. He conſulted not only with his miniſters and the members of the council of the Indies, but called upon ſeveral perſons who had reſided long in the New World, to aid them with the reſult of their experience and obſervation. Fortunately for the people of America, among theſe was Bartholomew de las Caſas, who happened to be then at Madrid on a miſſion from a chapter of his order at Chiapa *. Though, ſince the miſcarriage of his former ſchemes for the relief of the Indians, he had continued ſhut up in his cloiſter, or occupied in religious functions, his zeal in behalf of the former objects of his pity was ſo far from abating, that, from an increaſed knowledge

The perſons with whom he adviſes.

* Remeſal Hiſt. de Chiapa, p. 146.

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of their ſufferings, its ardour had augmented. He ſeized eagerly this opportunity of reviving his favourite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians. With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whoſe mind the ſcenes which he had beheld had made a deep impreſſion, he deſcribed the irreparable waſte of the human ſpecies in the New World, the Indian race almoſt totally ſwept away in the iſlands in leſs than fifty years, and haſtening to extinction on the continent with the ſame rapid decay. With the deciſive tone of one ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the truth of his own ſyſtem, he imputed all this to a ſingle cauſe, to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but the declaring of its natives to be freemen, and treating them as ſubjects, not as ſlaves. Nor did he confide for the ſucceſs of this propoſal in the powers of his oratory alone. In order to enforce them, he compoſed his famous treatiſe concerning the deſtruction of America *, in which he relates, with many horrid circumſtances, but with apparent marks of exaggerated deſcription, the devaſtation of every province which had been viſited by the Spaniards.

His ſolicitude to introduce a general reformation of government.

THE emperor was deeply afflicted with the recital of ſo many actions ſhocking to humanity. But as his views extended far beyond thoſe of Las Caſas, he perceived that relieving the Indians from oppreſſion was but one ſtep towards rendering his poſſeſſions in the New World a valuable acquiſition, and would be of little avail, unleſs he could circumſcribe the power and uſurpations of his own ſubjects there. The conquerors of America, however great their merit had been towards their country, were moſtly perſons

* Remeſal, p. 192. 199.

ſons of ſuch mean birth, and of ſuch abject rank in ſociety, as give no diſtinction in the eye of a monarch. The exorbitant wealth with which ſome of them returned, gave umbrage to an age not accuſtomed to ſee men in inferior condition elevated above their level, and riſing to emulate or ſurpaſs the ancient nobility in ſplendour. The territories which their leaders had appropriated to themſelves were of enormous extent*; and if the country ſhould ever be improved in proportion to the fertility of the ſoil, they muſt grow too wealthy and too powerful for ſubjects. It appeared to Charles, that this abuſe required a remedy no leſs than the other, and that the regulations concerning both muſt be enforced by a mode of government more vigorous than had yet been introduced into America.

New regulations for this purpoſe,

WITH this view he framed a body of laws, containing many ſalutary appointments with reſpect to the conſtitution and powers of the ſupreme council of the Indies; concerning the ſtation and juriſdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America, the adminiſtration of juſtice, the order of government, both eccleſiaſtical and civil. Theſe were approved of by all ranks of men. But together with them were iſſued the following regulations, which excited univerſal alarm, and occaſioned the moſt violent convulſions: —— "That as the *repartimientos* or ſhares of land ſeized by ſeveral perſons appeared to be exceſſive, the royal audiences are empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: That upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him ſhall not deſcend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: That the Indians ſhall henceforth be exempted from perſonal ſervice, and ſhall not be compelled

* See NOTE XLIII.

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compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labour in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fiſheries: That the ſtated tribute due by them to their ſuperiors ſhall be aſcertained, and they ſhall be paid as ſervants for any work they voluntarily perform: That all perſons who are or have been in public offices, eccleſiaſtics of every denomination, hoſpitals and monaſteries, ſhall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, and theſe be annexed to the crown: That every perſon in Peru, who had any criminal concern in the conteſts between Pizarro and Almagro, ſhould forfeit his lands and Indians *."

His miniſters remonſtrate againſt them.

ALL the Spaniſh miniſters who had hitherto been entruſted with the direction of American affairs, and who were beſt acquainted with the ſtate of the country, remonſtrated againſt thoſe regulations, as ruinous to their infant colonies. They repreſented, that the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New World was ſo extremely ſmall, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs towards improving the vaſt regions over which they were ſcattered; that the ſucceſs of every ſcheme for this purpoſe muſt depend upon the miniſtry and ſervice of the Indians, whoſe native indolence and averſion to labour, no proſpect of benefit or promiſe of reward could ſurmount; that the moment the right of impoſing a taſk, and exacting the performance of it was taken from their maſters, every work of induſtry muſt ceaſe, and all the ſources from which wealth begun to pour in upon Spain muſt be ſtopt for ever. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, and ſo much impreſſed at preſent with the view of the diſorders which reigned in America, that he was willing

* Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 5. Fernandez Hiſt. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

willing to hazard the application even of a dangerous remedy, perſiſted in his reſolution of publiſhing the laws. That they might be carried into execution with greater vigour and authority, he authoriſed Franciſco Tello de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as *viſitador* or ſuperintendent of that country, and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, in enforcing them. He appointed Blaſco Nugnez Vela to be governor of Peru, with the title of Viceroy; and in order to ſtrengthen his adminiſtration, he eſtabliſhed a court of royal audience in Lima, in which four lawyers of eminence were to preſide as judges *.

1542. A viceroy appointed for Peru. 1543.

THE viceroy and ſuperintendent ſailed at the ſame time; and an account of the laws which they were to enforce reached America before them. The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was viewed as the prelude of general ruin. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America without diſtinction, and there was hardly one who might not on ſome pretext be included under the other regulations, and ſuffer by them. But the colony in New Spain had now been ſo long accuſtomed to the reſtraints of law and authority under the ſteady and prudent adminiſtration of Mendoza, that how much ſoever the ſpirit of the new ſtatutes was deteſted and dreaded, no attempt was made to obſtruct the publication of them by any act of violence unbecoming ſubjects. The magiſtrates and principal inhabitants, however, preſented dutiful addreſſes to the viceroy and ſuperintendent, repreſenting the fatal conſequences of enforcing them. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long reſidence in the country, was ſo thoroughly acquainted with its ſtate, that he knew what was for its intereſt as well

1544. Effects of the regulation in New Spain.

* Zarate, lib. iii. c. 24. Gomara, c. 151. Vega, p. 2. lib. iii. c. 20.

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well as what it could bear; and Sandoval, though new in office, displayed a degree of moderation seldom possessed by persons just entering upon the exercise of power. They engaged to suspend, for some time, the execution of what was offensive in the new laws, and not only consented that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain with respect to their tendency and effects, but they concurred with them in supporting their sentiments. Charles, moved by the opinion of men whose abilities and integrity intitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately under their own view, granted such a relaxation of the rigour of the laws as re-established the colony in its former tranquillity *.

In Peru.

In Peru the storm gathered with an aspect still more fierce and threatening, and was not so soon dispersed. The conquerors of Peru, of a rank much inferior to those who had subjected Mexico to the Spanish crown, farther removed from the inspection of the parent state, and intoxicated with the sudden acquisition of wealth, carried on all their operations with greater licence and irregularity than any body of adventurers in the New World. Amidst the general subversion of law and order, occasioned by two successive civil wars, when each individual was at liberty to decide for himself, without any guide but his own interest or passions, this turbulent spirit rose above all sense of subordination. To men thus corrupted by anarchy, the introduction of regular government, the power of a viceroy, and the authority of a respectable court of judicature, would have appeared formidable restraints, to which they would have

* Fernandez Hist. lib. i. c. 3, 4, 5. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 21, 22. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. v. c. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. v. c. 13.

have ſubmitted with reluctance. But they revolted with indignation againſt the idea of complying with laws, by which they were to be ſtripped at once of all they had earned ſo hardly during many years of ſervice and ſuffering. As the account of the new laws ſpread ſucceſſively through the different ſettlements, the inhabitants run together, the women in tears, and the men exclaiming againſt the injuſtice and ingratitude of their ſovereign, in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their poſſeſſions. "Is this, cried they, the recompence due to perſons, who, without public aid, at their own expence, and by their own valour, have ſubjected to the crown of Caſtile territories of ſuch vaſt extent and opulence? Are theſe the rewards beſtowed for having endured unparalleled diſtreſs, for having encountered every ſpecies of danger in the ſervice of their country? Whoſe merit is ſo great, whoſe conduct has been ſo irreproachable, that he may not be condemned by ſome penal clauſe in regulations, conceived in terms as looſe and comprehenſive, as if it had been intended that all ſhould be entangled in their ſnare? Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held ſome public office, and all, without diſtinction, have been conſtrained to take an active part in the conteſt between the two rival chiefs. Were the former to be robbed of their property becauſe they had done their duty? Were the latter to be puniſhed on account of what they could not avoid? Shall the conquerors of this great empire, inſtead of receiving marks of diſtinction, be deprived of the natural conſolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for ſubſiſtence on the ſcanty ſupply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers *? We are not able now, continued they, to explore unknown regions in queſt of more ſecure ſettlements; our conſtitutions, debilitated

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* Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15.

BOOK VI. 1544. tated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active ſervice; but ſtill we poſſeſs vigour ſufficient to aſſert our juſt rights, and we will not tamely ſuffer them to be wreſted from us*."

An inſurrection prevented by the moderation of Caſtro.

By diſcourſes of this ſort, uttered with vehemence, and liſtened to with univerſal approbation, their paſſions were inflamed to ſuch a pitch, that they were prepared for the moſt violent meaſures; and began to hold conſultations in different places, how they might oppoſe the entrance of the viceroy and judges, and prevent not only the execution but the promulgation of the new laws. From this, however, they were diverted by the addreſs of Vaca de Caſtro, who flattered them with hopes, that, as ſoon as the viceroy and judges ſhould arrive, and had leiſure to examine their petitions and remonſtrances, they would concur with them in endeavouring to procure ſome mitigation in the rigour of laws which had been framed without due attention either to the ſtate of the country, or to the ſentiments of the people. A greater degree of accommodation to theſe, and even ſome conceſſions on the part of government, were now become requiſite to compoſe the preſent ferment, and to ſooth the coloniſts into ſubmiſſion, by inſpiring them with confidence in their ſuperiors. But without profound diſcernment, conciliating manners, and flexibility of temper, ſuch a plan could not be carried on. The viceroy poſſeſſed none of theſe. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, he was endowed only with integrity and courage; the former harſh and uncomplying, the latter bordering ſo frequently on raſhneſs or obſtinacy, that in his ſituation, they were defects rather than virtues. From the moment that he

The ſpirit of diſaffection increaſed by the viceroy.

March 4.

* Gomara, c. 152. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 10, 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 20, 22. lib. iv. c. 3, 4.

he landed at Tumbez, Nugnez Vela ſeems to have conſidered himſelf merely as an executive officer, without any diſcretionary power; and, regardleſs of whatever he obſerved or heard concerning the ſtate of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigour. In all the towns through which he paſſed, the natives were declared to be free, every perſon in public office was deprived of his lands and ſervants; and as an example of obedience to others, he would not ſuffer a ſingle Indian to be employed in carrying his baggage in his march towards Lima. Amazement and conſternation went before him as he approached; and ſo little ſolicitous was he to prevent them from augmenting, that on entering the capital, he openly avowed that he came to obey the orders of his ſovereign, not to diſpenſe with his laws. This harſh declaration was accompanied with what rendered it ſtill more intolerable, haughtineſs in deportment, a tone of arrogance and deciſion in diſcourſe, and an inſolence of office grievous to men little accuſtomed to hold civil authority in high reſpect. Every attempt to procure a ſuſpenſion or mitigation of the new laws, the viceroy conſidered as flowing from a ſpirit of diſaffection that tended to rebellion. Several perſons of rank were confined, and ſome put to death, without any form of trial. Vaca de Caſtro was arreſted, and notwithſtanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit in having prevented a general inſurrection in the colony, he was loaded with chains, and ſhut up in the common jail *.

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The malcontents chuſe Gonzalo Pizarro to be their leader.

But however general the indignation was againſt ſuch proceedings, it is probable that the hand of authority

* Zarate, lib. iv. c. 23, 24, 25. Gomara, c. 153—155. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 4, 5. Fernandez, lib. 1. c. 6—10.

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authority would have been ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs it, and to prevent its burſting out with open violence, if the malcontents had not been provided with a leader of credit and eminence to unite and to direct their efforts. From the time that the purport of the new regulations was known in Peru, every Spaniard there turned his eyes towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only perſon able to avert the ruin with which they threatened the colony. From all quarters, letters and addreſſes were ſent to him, conjuring him to ſtand forth as their common protector, and offering to ſupport him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes. Gonzalo, though inferior in talents to his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of courage no leſs daring. The behaviour of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himſelf, dwelt continually on his mind, Ferdinand a ſtate priſoner in Europe, the children of the governor in cuſtody of the viceroy, and ſent aboard his fleet, himſelf reduced to the condition of a private citizen in a country, for the diſcovery and conqueſt of which Spain was indebted to his family. Theſe thoughts prompted him to ſeek for vengeance, and to aſſert the rights of his family, of which he now conſidered himſelf as the guardian and the heir. But as no Spaniard can eaſily ſurmount that veneration for his ſovereign which is interwoven in his frame, the idea of marching in arms againſt the royal ſtandard filled him with horror. He heſitated long, and was ſtill unreſolved, when the violence of the viceroy, the univerſal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of becoming ſoon a victim himſelf to the ſeverity of the new laws, moved him to quit his reſidence at Chuquiſaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with tranſports of joy, as the deliverer of the colony. In the fervour of their zeal, they elected him procurator general

of

of the Spaniſh nation in Peru, to ſolicit the repeal of the late regulations. They authoriſed him to lay their remonſtrances before the royal audience in Lima, and upon pretext of danger from the Indians, authoriſed him to march thither in arms. Under ſanction of this nomination Pizarro took poſſeſſion of the royal treaſure, appointed officers, levied ſoldiers, ſeized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Caſtro had depoſited in Guamanga, and ſet out for Lima, as if he had been advancing againſt a public enemy. Diſaffection having now aſſumed a regular form, and being united under a chief of ſuch a diſtinguiſhed name, many perſons of note reſorted to his ſtandard; and a conſiderable part of the troops raiſed by the viceroy to oppoſe his progreſs, deſerted to him in a body *.

Diſſentions of the viceroy and court of audience.

BEFORE Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had happened there, which encouraged him to proceed with almoſt a certainty of ſucceſs. The violence of the viceroy's adminiſtration was not more formidable to the Spaniards of Peru than his overbearing haughtineſs was odious to his aſſociates, the judges of the royal audience. During their voyage from Spain, ſome ſymptoms of coldneſs began to appear †. But as ſoon as they entered upon the exerciſe of their reſpective offices, both parties were ſo much exaſperated by frequent conteſts, ariſing from interference of juriſdiction and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual diſguſt ſoon grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every meaſure, ſet at liberty priſoners whom he had confined, juſtified the malcontents, and applauded their remonſtrances. At a time when both departments of government

* Zarate, lib. v. c. 1. Gomara, c. 156, 157. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 4—12. Fernandez, lib. 1. c. 12—17. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 18, &c. lib. viii. c. 1—5. † Gomara, c. 171.

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government ſhould have united againſt the approaching enemy, they were contending with each other for ſuperiority. The judges at length prevailed. The viceroy, univerſally odious, and abandoned even by his own guards, was ſeized in his palace, and carried to a deſert iſland on the coaſt, to be kept there until he could be ſent home to Spain.

1544. The viceroy impriſoned. Sept. 18.

Views of Pizarro.

THE judges, in conſequence of this, having aſſumed the ſupreme direction of affairs into their own hands, iſſued a proclamation ſuſpending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and ſent a meſſage to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could requeſt, to diſmiſs his troops, and to repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. They could hardly expect that a man ſo daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requiſition. It was made, probably, with no ſuch intention, but only to throw a decent veil over their own conduct; for Cepeda, the preſident of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aſpiring lawyer, ſeems to have held a ſecret correſpondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himſelf to his ſervice. The impriſonment of the viceroy, the uſurpation of the judges, together with the univerſal confuſion and anarchy conſequent upon events ſo ſingular and unexpected, opened new and vaſt proſpects to Pizarro. He now beheld the ſupreme power within his reach. Nor did he want courage to puſh on towards the object which fortune preſented to his view. Carvajal, the prompter of his reſolutions, and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his eye upon it as the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. Inſtead of the inferior function of procurator for the Spaniſh ſettlements in Peru, he openly demanded to be governor and captain general of the whole province,

vince, and required the court of audience to grant him a commiſſion to that effect. At the head of twelve hundred men, within a mile of Lima, where there was neither leader nor army to oppoſe him, ſuch a requeſt carried with it the authority of a command. But the judges, either from unwillingneſs to relinquiſh power, or from a deſire of preſerving ſome attention to appearances, heſitated, or ſeemed to heſitate, about complying. Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, ſeized ſeveral officers of diſtinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience iſſued a commiſſion in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers, civil as well as military, and he entered the town that day with extraordinary pomp, to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity *.

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He aſſumes the government.

Oct. 28. The viceroy recovers his liberty.

But amidſt the diſorder and turbulence that accompanied this total diſſolution of the frame of government, the minds of men, ſet looſe from the ordinary reſtraints of law and authority, acted with ſuch capricious irregularity, that events no leſs extraordinary than unexpected followed in a rapid ſucceſſion. Pizarro had ſcarcely begun to exerciſe the new powers with which he was inveſted, when he beheld formidable enemies riſe up to oppoſe him. The viceroy having been put on board a veſſel by the judges of the audience, in order that he might be carried to Spain under cuſtody of Juan Alvarez, one of their own number; as ſoon as they were out at ſea, Alvarez, either touched with remorſe or moved by fear, fell at the feet of his priſoner, declared him from that moment to be free, and

* Zarate, lib. v. c. 8—10. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 13—19. Gomara, c. 159—163. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 18—25. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 10—20.

BOOK VI. and that he himſelf, and every perſon in the ſhip, would obey him as the legal repreſentative of their ſovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered them to

1544. ſteer to Tumbez, and landing there, erected the royal ſtandard, and reſumed his functions of viceroy. Several perſons of note, to whom the contagion of the ſeditious ſpirit which reigned at Cuzco and Lima had not reached, inſtantly avowed their reſolution to ſupport his authority *. The violence of Pizarro's government, who obſerved every individual with the timid jealouſy natural to uſurpers, and puniſhed every appearance of diſaffection with rigour, ſoon augmented the number of his adherents, as it forced ſome leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. While he was gathering ſuch ſtrength at Tumbez, that his forces began to aſſume the appearance of what was conſidered as an army in America, Diego Centeno, a bold and active officer, exaſperated by the cruelty and oppreſſion of Pizarro's lieutenant-governor in the province of Charcas, formed a conſpiracy againſt his life, cut him off, and declared for the viceroy †.

1545. Pizarro marches againſt him. PIZARRO, though alarmed with thoſe appearances of hoſtility in the oppoſite extremes of the empire, was not diſconcerted. He prepared to aſſert the authority to which he had attained, with the ſpirit and conduct of an officer accuſtomed to command, and marched directly againſt the viceroy as the enemy who was neareſt as well as moſt formidable. As he was maſter of the public revenues in Peru, and moſt of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were ſo numerous, that the viceroy, unable to face them, retreated

* Zarate, lib. v. c. 9. Gomara, c. 165. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 23. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 15. † Zarate, lib. v. c. 18. Gomara, c. 169. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. ix. c. 27.

treated towards Quito. Pizarro followed him, and in that long march, through a wild mountainous country, both ſuffered hardſhips and encountered difficulties, which no troops but thoſe accuſtomed to ſerve in America, could have endured or ſurmounted *. The viceroy had ſcarcely reached Quito, when the van-guard of Pizarro's forces appeared, led by Carvajal, who, though near fourſcore, was as hardy and active as any young ſoldier under his command. Nugnez Vela inſtantly abandoned a town incapable of defence, and with a rapidity more reſembling a flight than a retreat, marched into the province of Popayan. Pizarro continued to purſue, but finding it impoſſible to overtake him, returned to Quito. From thence he diſpatched Carvajal to oppoſe Centeno, who was growing formidable in the ſouthern provinces of the empire, and he himſelf remained there to make head againſt the viceroy †.

1545.

The viceroy defeated,

By his own activity, and the aſſiſtance of Benalcazar, Nugnez Vela ſoon aſſembled four hundred men in Popayan. As he retained, amidſt all his diſaſters, the ſame elevation of mind, and the ſame high ſenſe of his own dignity, he rejected with diſdain the advice of ſome of his followers, who urged him to make overtures of accommodation to Pizarro, declaring that it was only by the ſword that a conteſt with rebels could be decided. With this intention he marched back to Quito. Pizarro, relying on the ſuperior number, and ſtill more on the diſcipline and valour of his troops, advanced reſolutely to meet him. The battle was fierce and bloody, both parties fighting like men who knew that the poſſeſſion of a great

1546.

January 18.

* See NOTE XLIV. † Zarate, lib. v. c. 15, 16—24. Gomara, c. 167. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 25—28. Fernandez, lib. 1. c. 34. 40. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 16. 20—27.

BOOK VI. 1546.

empire, the fate of their leaders, and their own future fortune, depended upon the iſſue of that day. But Pizarro's veterans puſhed forward with ſuch regular and well-directed force, that they ſoon began to make impreſſion on their enemies. The viceroy, by extraordinary exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and the courage of a ſoldier were equally diſplayed, held victory for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds; and the rout of his followers became general. They were hotly purſued. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet in Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph. The troops aſſembled by Centeno were diſperſed ſoon after by Carvajal, and he himſelf compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for ſeveral months concealed in a cave. Every perſon in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to thoſe of Chili, ſubmitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojoſa, he had not only the unrivalled command of the South-Sea, but had taken poſſeſſion of Panama, and placed a garriſon in Nombre de Dios, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſthmus, which rendered him maſter of the uſual avenue of communication between Spain and Peru *.

and ſlain.

Pizarro adviſed to aſſume the ſovereignty of Peru.

AFTER this deciſive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for ſome time at Quito, and during the firſt tranſports of their exultation, they ran into every exceſs of licentious indulgence, with the riotous ſpirit uſual among low adventurers upon extraordinary ſucceſs. But, amidſt this diſſipation, their chief and his confidents were obliged to turn their thoughts ſometimes to what was

* Zarate, lib. v. c. 31, 32. Gomara, c. 170. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 33, 34. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 51—54. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. x. c. 12. 19—22. dec. 8. lib. i. c. 1—3. Benzo, lib. iii. c. 12.

was ſerious, and deliberated with much ſolicitude concerning the part that he ought now to take. Carvajal, no leſs bold and deciſive in counſel than in the field, had from the beginning warned Pizarro, that in the career on which he was entering, it was in vain to think of holding a middle courſe; that he muſt either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing. From the time that Pizarro obtained poſſeſſion of the government of Peru, he inculcated the ſame maxim with greater earneſtneſs. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonſtrated with him in a tone ſtill more peremptory. "You have uſurped (ſaid he, in a letter written to Pizarro on that occaſion) the ſupreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commiſſion to another. You have marched, in hoſtile array, againſt the royal ſtandard; you have attacked the repreſentative of your ſovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that ever a monarch will forgive ſuch inſults on his dignity, or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or ſincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favour of another. Aſſume yourſelf the ſovereignty over a country, to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of diſcovery and conqueſt. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru of any conſequence inviolably to your intereſt by liberal grants of lands and of Indians, or by inſtituting ranks of nobility, of creating titles of honour ſimilar to thoſe which are courted with ſo much eagerneſs in Europe. By eſtabliſhing orders of knighthood, with privileges and diſtinctions reſembling thoſe in Spain, you may beſtow a gratification upon the officers in your ſervice, ſuited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavour to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya, or daughter of the Sun next in

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succeſſion to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in ſupport of your authority. Thus, at the head of the principal Inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new ſettlers there, you may ſet at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with eaſe any feeble force which it can ſend at ſuch a diſtance." Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counſellor, warmly ſeconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he poſſeſſed in demonſtrating, that all the founders of great monarchies had been raiſed to pre-eminence, not by the antiquity of their lineage, or the validity of their rights, but by their own enterpriſing valour and perſonal merit *.

But chuſes to negociate with the court of Spain.

PIZARRO liſtened attentively to both, and could not conceal the ſatisfaction with which he contemplated the object that they preſented to his view. But happily for the tranquillity of the world, few men poſſeſs that ſuperior ſtrength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing ſuch daring ſchemes, as cannot be accompliſhed without overturning the eſtabliſhed order of ſociety, and violating thoſe maxims of duty which men are accuſtomed to hold ſacred. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents circumſcribed his ambition within more narrow limits. Inſtead of aſpiring at independent power, he confined his views to the obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority which he now poſſeſſed; and for that purpoſe, he ſent an officer of diſtinction thither, to give ſuch a repreſentation of his conduct, and of the ſtate of the country,

* Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 40. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 34. lib. ii. c. 13. 49. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 10.

try, as might induce the emperor and his ministers, either from inclination or from neceſſity, to continue him in his preſent ſtation. BOOK VI. 1546.

Consultations of the Spaniſh miniſters.

WHILE Pizarro was deliberating with reſpect to the part which he ſhould take, conſultations were held in Spain, with no leſs ſolicitude, concerning the meaſures which ought to be purſued in order to re-eſtabliſh the emperor's authority in Peru. Though unacquainted with the laſt exceſſes of outrage to which the malcontents had proceeded there, the court had received an account of the inſurrection againſt the viceroy, of his impriſonment, and the uſurpation of the government by Pizarro. A revolution ſo alarming, called for an immediate interpoſition of the emperor's abilities and authority. But as he was fully occupied at that time in Germany, in conducting the war againſt the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the moſt intereſting and arduous enterpriſes in his reign, the care of providing a remedy for the diſorders in Peru devolved upon his ſon Philip, and the counſellors whom Charles had appointed to aſſiſt him in the government of Spain during his abſence. At firſt view, the actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared ſo repugnant to the duty of ſubjects towards their ſovereign, that the greater part of the miniſters inſiſted on declaring them inſtantly to be guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to puniſh them with exemplary rigour. But when the fervour of their zeal and indignation began to abate, innumerable obſtacles to the execution of this meaſure preſented themſelves. The veteran bands of infantry, the ſtrength and glory of the Spaniſh armies, were then employed in Germany. Spain, exhauſted of men and money by a long ſeries of wars, in which ſhe had been involved by the

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the reſtleſs ambition of two ſucceſſive monarchs, could not eaſily equip an armament of ſufficient force to reduce Pizarro. To tranſport any reſpectable body of troops to a country ſo remote as Peru, appeared almoſt impoſſible. While Pizarro continued maſter of the South-Sea, the direct route by Nombre de Dios and Panama was impracticable. An attempt to march to Quito by land through the new kingdom of Granada, and the province of Popayan, acroſs regions of vaſt extent, deſolate, unhealthy, or inhabited by fierce and hoſtile tribes, would be attended with unſurmountable danger and hardſhips. The paſſage to the South-Sea by the Straits of Magellan was ſo tedious, ſo uncertain, and ſo little known in that age, that no confidence could be placed in any effort carried on in a courſe of navigation ſo remote and precarious. Nothing then remained but to relinquiſh the ſyſtem which the ardour of their loyalty had firſt ſuggeſted, and to attempt by lenient meaſures what could not be effected by force. It was manifeſt from Pizarro's ſolicitude to repreſent his conduct in a favourable light to the emperor, that, notwithſtanding the exceſſes of which he had been guilty, he ſtill retained ſentiments of veneration for his ſovereign. By a proper application to theſe, together with ſome ſuch conceſſions as ſhould diſcover a ſpirit of moderation and forbearance in government, he might be yet reclaimed, or the ideas of loyalty natural to Spaniards might ſo far revive among his followers, that they would no longer lend their aid to uphold his uſurped authority.

Gaſca appointed to repair to Peru as preſident.

THE ſucceſs, however, of this negociation, no leſs delicate than it was important, depended entirely on the abilities and addreſs of the perſon to whom it ſhould be committed. After weighing with much attention the comparative merit of various

various perſons, the Spaniſh miniſters fixed with unanimity of choice, upon Pedro de la Gaſca, a prieſt in no higher ſtation than that of counſellor to the inquiſition. Though in no public office, he had been occaſionally employed by government in affairs of truſt and conſequence, and had conducted them with no leſs ſkill than ſucceſs; diſplaying a gentle and inſinuating temper, accompanied with much firmneſs; probity, ſuperior to any feeling of private intereſt; and a cautious circumſpection in concerting meaſures, followed by ſuch vigour in executing them, as is rarely found in alliance with the other. Theſe qualities marked him out for the function to which he was deſtined. The emperor, to whom Gaſca was not unknown, warmly approved of the choice, and communicated it to him in a letter, containing expreſſions of good-will and confidence, no leſs honourable to the prince who wrote, than to the ſubject who received it. Gaſca, notwithſtanding his advanced age and feeble conſtitution, and though, from the apprehenſions natural to a man, who, during the courſe of his life, had never been out of his own country, he dreaded the effects of a long voyage, and of an unhealthy climate *, did not heſitate a moment about complying with the will of his ſovereign. In order to ſhew that it was from this principle alone that he acted, he refuſed a biſhopric which was offered to him, in order that he might bear a more dignified character; he would accept of no higher title than that of preſident of the court of audience in Lima; and declared that he would receive no ſalary on account of his diſcharging the duties of that office. All he required was, that the expence of ſupporting his family ſhould be defrayed by the public, and as he was to go like a miniſter

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His moderation.

* Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 17.

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a miniſter of peace with his gown and breviary, and without any retinue but a few domeſtics, this would not load the revenue with any enormous burden *.

The powers committed to him.

BUT while he diſcovered ſuch diſintereſted moderation with reſpect to whatever related perſonally to himſelf, he demanded his official powers in a very different tone. He inſiſted, as he was to be employed in a country ſo remote from the ſeat of government, where he could not have recourſe to his ſovereign for new inſtructions on every emergence; and as the whole ſucceſs of his negociations muſt depend upon the confidence which the people with whom he had to treat could place in the extent of his powers, that he ought to be inveſted with unlimited authority, that his juriſdiction muſt reach to all perſons and to all cauſes; that he muſt be empowered to pardon, to puniſh, or to reward, as circumſtances and the behaviour of different men might require; that, in caſe of reſiſtance from the malcontents, he might be authoriſed to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, to levy troops for that purpoſe, and to call for aſſiſtance from the governors of all the Spaniſh ſettlements in America. Theſe powers, though manifeſtly conducive to the great objects of his miſſion, appeared to the Spaniſh miniſters to be inalienable prerogatives of royalty, which ought not to be delegated to a ſubject, and they refuſed to grant them. But the emperor's views were more enlarged. As from the nature of his employment, Gaſca muſt be entruſted with diſcretionary power in ſeveral points, and all his efforts might prove ineffectual if he was circum-

* Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6. Gomara, c. 174. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 14—16. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. i. c. 4, &c.

circumſcribed in any one particular, Charles ſcru- BOOK
pled not to inveſt him with authority to the full VI.
extent that he demanded. Highly ſatisfied with 1546.
this freſh proof of his maſter's confidence, Gaſca haſtened his departure, and without either money or troops, ſet out to quell a formidable rebellion *. May 26.

On his arrival at Nombre de Dios, he found Hernan Mexia, an officer of note, poſted there, by order of Pizarro, with a conſiderable body of men, to oppoſe the landing of any hoſtile forces. But Gaſca appeared in ſuch pacific guiſe, with a train ſo little formidable, and with a title of no ſuch dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much reſpect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama, and met with a ſimilar reception from Hinojoſa, whom Pizarro had entruſted with the government of that town, and the command of his fleet ſtationed there. In both places he held the ſame language, declaring that he was ſent by their ſovereign as a meſſenger of peace, not as a miniſter of vengeance; that he came to redreſs all their grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, to pardon paſt offences, and to re-eſtabliſh order and juſtice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the ſimplicity of his manners, the ſanctity of his profeſſion, and a winning appearance of candour, gained credit to his declarations. The veneration due to a perſon clothed with legal authority, and acting in virtue of a royal commiſſion, began to revive among men accuſtomed for ſome time to nothing more reſpectable than an uſurped juriſdiction. Hinojoſa, Mexia, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, to each of whom Gaſca applied ſeparately, were gained over to his intereſt, and July 27. His arrival at Panama.

* Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 16—18.

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and waited only for ſome decent occaſion of declaring openly in his favour *.

1546. Violent proceedings of Pizarro.

THIS the violence of Pizarro ſoon afforded them. As ſoon as he heard of Gaſca's arrival at Panama, though he received at the ſame time an account of the nature of his commiſſion, and was informed that he offered to render every Spaniard in Peru eaſy concerning what was paſt, by an act of general oblivion; and ſecure with reſpect to the future, by repealing the obnoxious laws; inſtead of accepting with gratitude his ſovereign's gracious conceſſions, he was ſo much exaſperated on finding that he was not to be continued in his ſtation as governor of the country, that he inſtantly reſolved to oppoſe the preſident's entry into Peru, and to prevent his exerciſing any juriſdiction there. To this deſperate reſolution he added another highly prepoſterous. He ſent a new deputation to Spain to juſtify this conduct, and to inſiſt, in name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himſelf during life, as the only means of preſerving tranquillity there. The perſons entruſted with this ſtrange commiſſion, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the preſident, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama and return to Spain. They carried likewiſe ſecret inſtructions to Hinojoſa, directing him to offer Gaſca a preſent of fifty thouſand peſos, if he would comply voluntarily with what was demanded of him; and if he ſhould continue obſtinate, to cut him off either by aſſaſſination or poiſon †.

MANY

* Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 21, &c. Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6, 7. Gomara, c. 175. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 3. † Zarate, lib. vi. c. 8. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 33, 34. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 9, 10.

MANY circumſtances concurred in puſhing on Pizarro to thoſe wild meaſures. Having been once accuſtomed to the pre-eminence of ſupreme command, he could not bear the thoughts of deſcending to a private ſtation. Conſcious of his own demerit, he ſuſpected that the emperor ſtudied only to deceive him, and would never pardon the outrages which he had committed. His chief confidents, no leſs guilty, entertained the ſame apprehenſions. The approach of Gaſca without any military force excited no terror. There were now above ſix thouſand Spaniards ſettled in Peru *; and at the head of theſe he doubted not to maintain his own independence, if the court of Spain ſhould refuſe to grant what he required. But he knew not that a ſpirit of defection had already begun to ſpread among thoſe whom he truſted moſt. Hinojoſa, amazed at his precipitate reſolution of ſetting himſelf in oppoſition to the emperor's commiſſion, and diſdaining to be his inſtrument in executing the odious crimes pointed out in his ſecret inſtructions, publicly recognized the preſident as his only lawful ſuperior. The officers under his command did the ſame. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been ſent from Peru; and at the time when Pizarro expected to hear either of Gaſca's return to Spain, or of his death, he received an account of his being maſter of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops ſtationed there.

1546. Gaſca gains his fleet.

IRRITATED almoſt to madneſs by an event ſo unexpected, he openly prepared for war; and in order to give ſome colour of juſtice to his arms, he appointed the court of audience in Lima

Pizarro reſolves on war. 1547.

* Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iii. c. 1.

BOOK VI. 1547. ma to proceed to the trial of Gaſca, for the crimes of having ſeized his ſhips, ſeduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding on their voyage to Spain. Cepeda, though acting as a judge in virtue of the royal commiſſion, did not ſcruple to proſtitute the dignity of his function by finding Gaſca guilty of treaſon, and condemning him to death on that account *. Wild, and even ridiculous, as this proceeding was, it impoſed on the low illiterate adventurers, with whom Peru was filled, by the ſemblance of a legal ſanction, warranting Pizarro to carry on hoſtilities againſt a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly reſorted from every quarter to his ſtandard, and he was ſoon at the head of a thouſand men, the beſt equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

Preparations of Gaſca.

GASCA, on his part, perceiving that force muſt be employed in order to accompliſh the purpoſe of his miſſion, was no leſs aſſiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other ſettlements on the continent; and with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was ſoon in a condition to detach a ſquadron of his fleet with a conſiderable body of

April. ſoldiers, to the coaſt of Peru. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not attempt for ſome time to make any deſcent, they did more effectual ſervice, by ſetting aſhore in different places, perſons who diſperſed copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known every where the pacific intentions, as well as mild temper of the preſident. The effect of ſpreading this information was wonderful. All who were diſſatisfied with Pizarro's violent adminiſtration, all

* Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 55. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iii. c. 6.

all who retained any ſentiments of fidelity to their ſovereign, began to meditate revolt. Some openly deſerted a cauſe which they now deemed to be unjuſt. Centeno, leaving the cave in which he lay concealed, aſſembled about fifty of his former adherents, and with this feeble half-armed band advanced boldly to Cuzco. By a ſudden attack in the night-time, in which he diſplayed no leſs military ſkill than valour, he rendered himſelf maſter of that capital, though defended by a garriſon of five hundred men. Moſt of theſe having ranged themſelves under his banners, he had ſoon the command of a reſpectable body of troops *.

BOOK VI. 1547. Inſurrection of Centeno;

PIZARRO, though aſtoniſhed at beholding one enemy approaching by ſea, and another by land, at a time when he truſted to the union of all Peru in his favour, was of a ſpirit more undaunted, and more accuſtomed to the viciſſitudes of fortune, than to be diſconcerted or appalled. As the danger from Centeno's operations was the moſt urgent, he inſtantly ſet out to oppoſe him. Having provided horſes for all his ſoldiers, he marched with amazing rapidity. But every morning he found his force diminiſhed by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became ſuſpicious to exceſs, and puniſhed without mercy all whom he ſuſpected, the rage of deſertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within ſight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake Titiaca, he could not muſter more than four hundred ſoldiers. But theſe he juſtly conſidered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldeſt and moſt deſperate of his followers, conſcious like himſelf of crimes for which they could hardly expect

against whom Pizarro marches,

* Zarate, lib. vi. c. 13—16. Gomara, c. 180, 181. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 28. 64, &c.

BOOK VI.

expect forgiveneſs, and without any hope but in the ſucceſs of their arms. With theſe he did not heſitate to attack Centeno's troops, though double to his own in number. The royaliſts did not decline the combat. It was the moſt obſtinate and bloody that had hitherto been fought in Peru. At length the intrepid valour of Pizarro, and the ſuperiority of Carvajal's military talents, triumphed over numbers, and obtained a complete victory. The booty was immenſe*, and the treatment of the vanquiſhed cruel. By this ſignal ſucceſs the reputation of Pizarro was re-eſtabliſhed, and being now deemed invincible in the field, his army increaſed daily in number †.

1547. October 20. and defeats him.

But events happened in other parts of Peru, which more than counterballanced the ſplendid victory at Huarina. Pizarro had ſcarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppreſſive dominion, erected the royal ſtandard, and Aldana, with a detachment of ſoldiers from the fleet, took poſſeſſion of the town. About the ſame time ‡, the preſident landed at Tumbez with five hundred men. Encouraged by his preſence, every ſettlement in the low country declared for the king. The ſituation of the two parties was now perfectly reverſed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were poſſeſſed by Pizarro; all the reſt of the empire, from Quito ſouthward, acknowledged the juriſdiction of Gaſca. As his numbers augmented faſt, Gaſca advanced into the interior part of the country. His behaviour ſtill continued to be gentle and unaſſuming; he expreſſed, on every occaſion, his ardent wiſh of terminating the conteſt without bloodſhed. More ſolicitous to reclaim

Gaſca lands in Peru.

* See NOTE XLV. † Zarate, lib. vii. c. 2, 3. Gomara, c. 181. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 18, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 79. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 1, 2. ‡ Zarate, lib. vi. c. 17.

reclaim than to puniſh, he upbraided no man for paſt offences, but received them as a father receives penitent children returning to a ſenſe of their duty. Though deſirous of peace, he did not ſlacken his preparations for war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xauxa, on the road to Cuzco *. There he remained for ſome months, not only that he might have time to make another attempt towards an accommodation with Pizarro, but that he might train his new ſoldiers to the uſe of arms and accuſtom them to the diſcipline of a camp, before he led them againſt a body of victorious veterans. Pizarro, intoxicated with the ſucceſs which had hitherto accompanied his arms, and elated with having again near a thouſand men under his command, refuſed to liſten to any terms, although Cepeda, together with ſeveral of his officers, and even Carvajal himſelf †, gave it as their advice, to cloſe with the preſident's offer of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws ‡. Gaſca having tried in vain every expedient to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, began to move towards Cuzco at the head of ſixteen hundred men.

1547. Advances towards Cuzco. Dec. 29.

PIZARRO, confident of victory, ſuffered the royaliſts to paſs all the rivers that lie between Guamanga and Cuzco without oppoſition, and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himſelf that a defeat in ſuch a ſituation as rendered a retreat impracticable would at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and Carvajal choſe his ground, and made the diſpoſition of the troops with the diſcerning eye, and profound knowledge in the art

1548. Both parties prepare for battle. April 9.

* Zarate, lib. vii. c. 1. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 77. 82.

† See NOTE XLVI. ‡ Zarate, lib. vii. c. 6. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 27.

BOOK VI. 1548.

art of war, conſpicuous in all his operations. As the two armies moved forward ſlowly to the charge, the appearance of each was ſingular. In that of Pizarro compoſed of men enriched with the ſpoils of the moſt opulent country in America, every officer, and almoſt all the private men were clothed in ſtuffs of Silk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and ſilver; and their horſes, their arms, their ſtandards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp *. That of Gaſca, though not ſo ſplendid, exhibited what was no leſs ſtriking. He himſelf, accompanied by the archbiſhop of Lima, the biſhops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of eccleſiaſtics, marching along the lines, bleſſing the men, and encouraging them to a reſolute diſcharge of their duty.

Pizarro deſerted by his troops,

WHEN both were juſt ready to engage, Cepeda ſet ſpurs to his horſe, galloped off, and ſurrendered himſelf to the preſident. Garcilaſſo de la Vega, and other officers of note, followed his example. The revolt of perſons in ſuch high rank ſtruck all with amazement. The mutual confidence on which the union and ſtrength of armies depend, ceaſed at once. Diſtruſt and conſternation ſpread from rank to rank. Some ſilently ſlipped away, others threw down their arms, the greateſt number went over to the royaliſts. Pizarro, Carvajal, and ſome leaders, employed authority, threats, and intreaties to ſtop them, but in vain. In leſs than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally diſperſed. Pizarro ſeeing all irretrievably loſt, cried out in amazement to a few officers who ſtill faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us ruſh, replied one of them, upon the enemy's firmeſt battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected with ſuch a reverſe of fortune, he had

* Zarate, lib. vi. c. 11.

had not ſpirit to follow this ſoldierly counſel, and with a tameneſs diſgraceful to his former fame, he ſurrendered to one of Gaſca's officers. Carvajal, endeavouring to eſcape, was overtaken and ſeized. BOOK VI. 1548. taken,

GASCA, happy in this bloodleſs victory, did not ſtain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a ſmall number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed or notorious offenders, were puniſhed capitally. Pizarro was beheaded on the day after he ſurrendered. He ſubmitted to his fate with a compoſed dignity, and ſeemed deſirous to attone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was ſuitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the ſentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he careleſsly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the ſentence and execution, he diſcovered no ſign either of remorſe for the paſt, or of ſolicitude about the future; ſcoffing at all who viſited him, in his uſual ſarcaſtic vein of mirth, with the ſame quickneſs of repartee and groſs pleaſantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have ſhared the ſame fate; but the merit of having deſerted his aſſociates at ſuch a critical moment, and with ſuch deciſive effect, ſaved him from immediate puniſhment. He was ſent, however, as a priſoner to Spain, and died in confinement *. and put to death.

IN the minute detail which the contemporary hiſtorians have given of the civil diſſenſions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumſtances occur ſo ſtriking, and

* Zarate, lib. vii. c. 6. 7. 8. Gomara, c. 185, 186. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 30, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 86, &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 14, &c.

BOOK VI. which indicate ſuch an uncommon ſtate of manners, as to merit particular attention.

1548. No mercenary ſoldiers in the civil wars of Peru.

THOUGH the Spaniards who firſt invaded Peru were of the loweſt order in ſociety, and the greater part of thoſe who afterwards joined them were perſons of deſperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for ſuperiority, not one man acted as a hired ſoldier, that follows his ſtandard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru conſidered himſelf as a conqueror, entitled, by his ſervices, to an eſtabliſhment in that country which had been acquired by his valour. In the conteſts between the rival chiefs, each choſe his ſide as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and diſdained to degrade himſelf by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their ſwords, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that moſt of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the ſame means to open a way for himſelf to the poſſeſſion of power and wealth *.

Armies immenſely expenſive.

BUT though the troops in Peru ſerved without any regular pay, they were raiſed at immenſe expence. Among men accuſtomed to divide the ſpoils of an opulent country, the deſire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardour of purſuit augmented in proportion to the hope of ſucceſs. Where all were intent on the ſame object, and under the dominion of the ſame paſſion, there was but one mode of gaining men or of ſecuring their attachment. Officers of name and influence, beſides the promiſe of future eſtabliſhments, received in hand large gratuities from the

* Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 38. 41.

the chief with whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pizarro, in order to raiſe a thouſand men, advanced five hundred thouſand peſos *. Gaſca expended on the troops which he led againſt Pizarro nine hundred thouſand peſos †. The diſtribution of property, beſtowed as the reward of ſucceſs, was ſtill more exorbitant. Cepeda, as the recompence of his perfidy and addreſs, in perſuading the court of royal audience to give the ſanction of its authority to the uſurped juriſdiction of Pizarro, received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of a hundred and fifty thouſand peſos ‡. Hinojoſa, who, by his early defection from Pizarro, and ſurrender of the fleet to Gaſca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a diſtrict of country affording two hundred thouſand peſos of yearly value §. While ſuch rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional ſhares were conferred upon thoſe of inferior rank.

And immenſe rewards to individuals.

Such a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and new deſires. Veterans long accuſtomed to hardſhip and toil, acquired of a ſudden a taſte for profuſe and inconſiderate diſſipation, and indulged in all the exceſſes of military licentiouſneſs. The riot of low debauchery occupied ſome; a reliſh for expenſive luxuries ſpread among others ‖. The meaneſt ſoldier in Peru would have thought himſelf degraded by marching on foot, and at a time when the prices of horſes in that country were exorbitant, each inſiſted on being furniſhed with one before he would take the field. But

Their profuſion and luxury.

* Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 54.
† Zarate, lib. vii. c. 10. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. v. c. 7.
‡ Gomara, c. 164.
§ Vega, p. 11. lib. vi. c. 3.
‖ Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 3. dec. 8. lib. viii. c. 10.

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though leſs patient under the fatigue and hardſhips of ſervice, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever, and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to diſplay all their ancient valour.

Ferocity with which their conteſts were carried on.

TOGETHER with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally diſtinguiſhed. Civil diſcord never raged with a more fell ſpirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the paſſions which uſually envenom conteſts among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerneſs to ſeize the valuable forfeitures expected upon the death of every opponent, ſhut the door againſt mercy. To be wealthy was of itſelf ſufficient to expoſe a man to accuſation, or to ſubject him to puniſhment. On the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, Pizarro condemned many of the moſt opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carvajal, without ſearching for any pretext to juſtify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of thoſe who ſuffered by the hand of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field *; and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

And want of faith.

THE violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its uſual attendants, attachment and fidelity to thoſe with whom they acted. The ties of honour which are held ſacred among ſoldiers, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spaniſh character as in that of any nation, ſeem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the ſenſe of ſhame, were totally

* See NOTE XLVII.

totally loſt. During their diſſenſions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally eſpouſed, betray the aſſociates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroy Nugnez Vela, was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound by the duties of their function to have ſupported his authority. The chief adviſers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt, were the firſt to forſake him, and ſubmit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gaſca, by the man whom he had ſingled out among his officers to entruſt with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in ſight of the enemy, threw down their arms without ſtriking a blow, and deſerted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Inſtances of ſuch general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in ſocial union, rarely occur in hiſtory. It is only where men are far removed from the ſeat of government, where the reſtraints of law and order are little felt, where the proſpect of gain is unbounded, and immenſe wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciouſneſs, the perfidy and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru. 1548.

Gaſca deviſes employment for his ſoldiers.

On the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity ſeemed to be perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. But two very intereſting objects ſtill remained to occupy the preſident's attention. The one was to find immediately ſuch employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which

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which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. The other to beſtow proper gratifications upon thoſe to whoſe loyalty and valour he was indebted for his ſucceſs. The former of theſe was in ſome meaſure accompliſhed, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to proſecute the conqueſt of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the diſcovery of the vaſt regions bordering on the river de la Plata. The reputation of thoſe leaders, and the hopes of bettering their condition in a new country, allured many of the moſt indigent and deſperate ſoldiers to follow their ſtandards, drained off no inconſiderable portion of that mutinous inflammable ſpirit which Gaſca dreaded.

His diviſion of the country among his followers.

THE latter was an affair of greater difficulty, and to be adjuſted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The *repartimientos*, or allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be diſtributed, in conſequence of the death or forfeiture of the former poſſeſſors, exceeded two millions of peſos of yearly rent *. Gaſca, when now abſolute maſter of this immenſe property, retained the ſame diſintereſted ſentiments which he had originally profeſſed, and refuſed to reſerve the ſmalleſt portion of it for himſelf. But the number of claimants was great; and whilſt the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own ſervices, and eſtimated the recompence which he thought due to him, the pretenſions of each were ſo extravagant, that it was impoſſible to ſatisfy all. Gaſca liſtened to them one by one, with the moſt patient attention, and that he might have leiſure to weigh the comparative merit of their ſeveral claims with accuracy, he retired, with the archbiſhop of Lima and a ſingle ſecretary, to a village twelve leagues

* Vega, p. 11. lib. vi. c. 4.

leagues from Cuzco. There he ſpent ſeveral days in allotting to each a diſtrict of lands and number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their paſt ſervices, and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce ſtorm of clamour and rage, which he foreſaw would burſt out on the publication of his decree, notwithſtanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he ſet out for Lima, leaving the inſtrument of partition ſealed up, with orders not to open it for ſome days after his departure.

1548.

THE indignation excited by publiſhing the decree of partition was not leſs than Gaſca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, ſhame, rage, and all the other paſſions that moſt vehemently agitate the minds of men when both their honour and their intereſt are deeply affected, conſpired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military inſolence. Calumny, threats, and curſes were poured out openly upon the preſident. He was accuſed of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injuſtice. Among ſoldiers prompt to action, ſuch ſeditious diſcourſe would have been ſoon followed by deeds no leſs violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards ſome diſcontented leaders, expecting them to ſtand forth in redreſs of their wrongs. By ſome vigorous interpoſitions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous ſpirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the preſent *.

Aug. 24. The diſcontent it occaſions.

GASCA, however, perceiving that the flame was ſuppreſſed rather than extinguiſhed, laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to ſoothe the malcontents, by beſtow-

1549. Re-eſtabliſhes order and government.

* Zarate, lib. vii. c. 9. Gomara, c. 187. Vega, p. 11. lib. vii. c. 1, &c. Fernandez, p. 11. lib. i. c. 1. &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 17, &c.

BOOK VI. 1549. beſtowing large gratuities on ſome, by promiſing *repartimientos*, when they fell vacant, to others, and by careſſing and flattering all. But that the public ſecurity might reſt on a foundation more ſtaple than their good affection, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen the hands of his ſucceſſors in office, by re-eſtabliſhing the regular adminiſtration of juſtice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and ſimplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue. He iſſued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppreſſion, and to provide for their inſtruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labour. Having now accompliſhed every object of his miſſion, Gaſca, longing to return again to a private ſtation, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and ſet out for Spain. As, during the anarchy and turbulence of the four laſt years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue, he carried with him thirteen hundred thouſand peſos of public money, which the œconomy and order of his adminiſtration enabled him to ſave, after paying all the expences of the war.

1550. Feb. 1. and ſets out for Spain.

His reception there.

He was received in his native country with univerſal admiration of his abilities, and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conſpicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train ſo ſimple, that only three thouſand ducats were expended in equipping him *, he ſet out to oppoſe a formidable rebellion. By his addreſs and talents he ſupplied all thoſe defects, and ſeemed to create inſtruments for executing his deſigns. He acquired ſuch a naval force, as gave him the command of the ſea. He raiſed a body of men able to cope with the veteran bands which gave

* Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 18.

gave law to Peru. He vanquiſhed their leader, on whoſe arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy and uſurpation, he eſtabliſhed the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful ſovereign. But the praiſe beſtowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After reſiding in a country where wealth preſented allurements which had ſeduced every perſon who had hitherto poſſeſſed power there, he returned from that trying ſtation with integrity not only untainted but unſuſpected. After diſtributing among his countrymen poſſeſſions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the diſpoſal of a ſubject in any age or nation, he himſelf remained in his original ſtate of poverty; and at the very time, when he brought ſuch a large recruit to the royal treaſury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a ſmall ſum to diſcharge ſome petty debts which he had contracted during the courſe of his ſervice *. Charles was not inſenſible to ſuch diſintereſted merit. Gaſca was received by him with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of eſteem, and being promoted to the biſhopric of Palencia, he paſſed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, reſpected by his country, honoured by his ſovereign, and beloved by all.

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NOTWITHSTANDING all Gaſca's wiſe regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country, where the authority of government was almoſt forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and miſ-rule, where there were diſappointed leaders ripe for revolt, and ſeditious ſoldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to kindle combuſtion. Several ſucceſſive inſurrections deſolated the country for ſome years. But as thoſe, though fierce, were only tranſient ſtorms,

* MS. penes me.

BOOK VI. 1550.

ſtorms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not the object of this hiſtory. Theſe commotions in Peru, like every thing of extreme violence, either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration, and by carrying off the corrupted humours which had given riſe to the diſorders, they contributed in the end to ſtrengthen the ſociety which at firſt they threatened to deſtroy. During their fierce conteſts, ſeveral of the firſt invaders of Peru, and many of thoſe licentious adventurers whom the fame of their ſucceſs had allured thither, fell by each other's hands. Each of the parties, as they alternately prevailed in the ſtruggle, cleared the country of a greater number, by executing, proſcribing, or baniſhing their opponents. Men leſs enterpriſing and deſperate, and more accuſtomed to move in the path of ſober and peaceable induſtry, ſettled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually eſtabliſhed as firmly there as in the other Spaniſh colonies.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK VII.

AS the conqueſt of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru forms the moſt ſplendid and intereſting period in the hiſtory of America, a view of their political inſtitutions, and a deſcription of their national manners, will exhibit the human ſpecies to the contemplation of intelligent obſervers in a very ſingular ſtage of its progreſs *. BOOK VII.

WHEN compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be conſidered as poliſhed ſtates. Inſtead of ſmall, independent, hoſtile tribes, ſtruggling for ſubſiſtence amidſt woods and marſhes, ſtrangers to induſtry and arts, unacquainted with ſubordination, and almoſt without the appearance of regular government, we find countries of great extent ſubjected to the dominion of one ſovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wiſdom and Mexico and Peru more poliſhed than other parts of America.

* See NOTE XLVIII.

BOOK VII.

and foreſight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and ſecurity of the people, the empire of laws in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed, the authority of religion recognized, many of the arts eſſential to life brought to ſome degree of maturity, and the dawn of ſuch as are ornamental beginning to appear.

Their inferiority to the nations of the ancient continent.

But if the compariſons be made with the people of the ancient continent, the inferiority of America in improvement will be conſpicuous, and neither the Mexicans nor Peruvians will be entitled to rank with thoſe nations which merit the name of civilized. They, like the rude tribes around them, were totally unacquainted with the uſeful metals, and the progreſs which they had made in extending their dominion over the animal creation was inconſiderable. The Mexicans had gone no farther than to tame and rear turkeys, ducks, a ſpecies of ſmall dogs, and rabbits *. By this feeble eſſay of ingenuity, the means of ſubſiſtence were rendered ſomewhat more plentiful and ſecure, than when men depend ſolely on hunting; but they had no idea of attempting to ſubdue the more robuſt animals, or of deriving any aid from their miniſtry in carrying on works of labour. The Peruvians ſeem to have neglected the inferior animals, and had not rendered any of them domeſtic except the duck; but they were more fortunate in taming the Llama, an animal peculiar to their country, in form reſembling a camel, and of a ſize ſomewhat larger than a ſheep. Under the protection of man, this ſpecies multiplied greatly. Its wool furniſhed the Peruvians with clothing, its fleſh with food. It was even employed as a beaſt of burden, and carried a moderate load with much patience

* Herrera, dec. 11. lib. vii. c. 12.

patience and docility *. It was never uſed for draught; and the breed being confined to the mountainous country, its ſervice, if we may judge by incidents that occur in the early Spaniſh writers, was not very extenſive among the Peruvians in their original ſtate.

In tracing the line by which nations proceed towards civility, the diſcovery of the uſeful metals, and the acquiſition of dominion over the animal creation, have been marked as ſteps of capital importance in their progreſs. In our continent, ſociety continued in that ſtate which is denominated barbarous, long after men had attained both. Even with all that command over nature which theſe confer, many ages elapſe, before induſtry becomes ſo perfect as to render ſubſiſtence ſecure, before the arts that ſupply the wants and furniſh the accommodations of life are invented, and before any idea is conceived of the various inſtitutions requiſite in a well-ordered ſociety. The Mexicans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the uſe of metals, or the aid of domeſtic animals, laboured under diſadvantages which muſt have greatly retarded their progreſs, and in their higheſt ſtate of improvement, their power was ſo limited, and their operations ſo feeble, that they can hardly be conſidered as having advanced beyond the infancy of civil life.

View of the inſtitutions and manners of each.

After this general obſervation concerning the moſt ſingular and diſtinguiſhed circumſtance in the ſtate of both the great empires in America, I ſhall endeavour to give ſuch a view of the conſtitution and interior police of each, as may enable us to aſcertain their place in the political ſcale, to allot them their proper ſtation between the rude tribes in the New World, and the poliſhed ſtates of the ancient,

* Vega, p. 1. lib. viii. c. 16. Zarate, lib. i. c. 14.

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ancient, and to determine how far they had riſen above the former, as well as how much they fell below the latter.

Imperfect information concerning thoſe of Mexico.

MEXICO was firſt ſubjected to the Spaniſh crown. But our acquaintance with its laws and manners is not, from that circumſtance, more complete. What I have remarked concerning the defective and inaccurate information on which we muſt rely, with reſpect to the condition and cuſtoms of the ſavage tribes in America, may be applied likewiſe to our knowledge of the Mexican empire. Cortes, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leiſure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural hiſtory with new obſervations. They undertook their expedition in queſt of one object, and ſeem hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or, if during ſome ſhort interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceaſed, and the ardour of plunder was ſuſpended, the inſtitutions and manners of the people whom they had invaded drew their attention, the inquiries of illiterate ſoldiers were conducted with ſo little ſagacity and preciſion, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order eſtabliſhed in the Mexican monarchy are ſuperficial, confuſed and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occaſionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form ſome idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obſcurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the ſuperſtition of thoſe who ſucceeded them. As the memory of paſt events was preſerved among the Mexicans by figures painted on ſkins, on cotton cloth, or on the bark of trees, the early miſſionaries, unable to comprehend their meaning, and ſtruck with their uncouth forms, conceived

ceived them to be monuments of idolatry which ought to be deſtroyed, in order to facilitate the converſion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict iſſued by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciſcan monk, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, all thoſe records of the ancient Mexican ſtory were collected and committed to the flames. In conſequence of this fanatical zeal of the monks who firſt viſited New Spain, and which their ſucceſſors ſoon began to lament, whatever knowledge of remote events ſuch rude monuments contained was entirely loſt, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from ſome fragments of their hiſtorical paintings that eſcaped the barbarous reſearches of Zummaraga*. From the experience of all nations it is manifeſt, that the memory of paſt tranſactions can neither be long preſerved, nor be tranſmitted with any fidelity by tradition. The Mexican paintings, which are ſuppoſed to have ſerved as annals of their empire, are few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus amidſt the uncertainly of the former, and the obſcurity of the latter, we muſt glean what intelligence can be collected from the ſcanty materials ſcattered in the Spaniſh writers.

Origin of the Mexican monarchy.

ACCORDING to the account of the Mexicans themſelves, their empire was not of long duration. Their country, as they relate, was originally poſſeſſed, rather than peopled, by ſmall independent tribes, whoſe mode of life and manners reſembled thoſe of the rudeſt ſavages which we have deſcribed. But about a period correſponding to the beginning of the tenth century in the Chriſtian æra, ſeveral tribes moved in ſucceſſive migrations from unknown regions towards the north

* Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 7. Torquem. Proem. lib. ii. lib. iii. c. 6. lib. xiv. c. 6.

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north and north-weſt, and ſettled in different provinces of *Anabac*, the ancient name of New Spain. Theſe, more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of ſocial life. At length, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more poliſhed than any of the former, advanced from the border of the Californian gulf, and took poſſeſſion of the plains adjacent to a great lake near the centre of the country. After reſiding there about fifty years, they founded a town, ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Mexico*, which from humble beginnings ſoon grew to be the moſt conſiderable city in the New World. The Mexicans, long after they were eſtabliſhed in their new poſſeſſions, continued, like other martial tribes in America, unacquainted with regal dominion, and were governed in peace and conducted in war by ſuch as were entitled to pre-eminence by their wiſdom or their valour. But among them, as in other ſtates whoſe power and territories become extenſive, the ſupreme authority centered at laſt in a ſingle perſon; and when the Spaniards under Cortes invaded their country, Montezuma was the ninth monarch in order who had ſwayed the Mexican ſceptre, not by hereditary right, but by election.

Very recent.

SUCH is the traditional tale of the Mexicans concerning the progreſs of their own empire. According to this, its duration was very ſhort. From the firſt migration of their parent tribe, they can reckon little more than three hundred years. From the eſtabliſhment of monarchical government not above a hundred and thirty years, according to one account *, or a hundred and ninety-ſeven, according to another computation †, had elapſed. If, on one hand, we ſuppoſe the Mexican ſtate to have

* Acoſt. Hiſt. lib. vii. c. 8, &c.

† Purchas Pilgr. iii. p. 1068, &c.

have been of higher antiquity, and to have ſubſiſted during ſuch a length of time as the Spaniſh accounts of its civilization would naturally lead us to conclude, it is difficult to conceive how, among a people who poſſeſſed the art of recording events by pictures, and who conſidered it as an eſſential part of their national education, to teach their children to repeat the hiſtorical ſongs which celebrated the exploits of their anceſtors *, the knowledge of paſt tranſactions ſhould be ſo ſlender and limited. If, on the other hand, we adopt their own ſyſtem with reſpect to the antiquities of their nation, it is no leſs difficult to account either for that improved ſtate of ſociety, or for the extenſive dominion to which their empire had attained, when firſt viſited by the Spaniards. The infancy of nations is ſo long, and, even when every circumſtance is favourable to their progreſs, they advance ſo ſlowly towards any maturity of ſtrength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans ſeem to be a ſtrong preſumption of exaggeration, in the ſplendid deſcriptions which have been given of their government and manners.

Facts which prove their progreſs in civilization.

But it is not by theory or conjectures that hiſtory decides, with regard to the ſtate or character of nations. It produces facts as the foundation of every judgment which it ventures to pronounce. In collecting thoſe which muſt regulate our opinion in the preſent inquiry, ſome occur that ſuggeſt an idea of conſiderable progreſs in civilization in the Mexican empire, and others which ſeem to indicate that it had advanced but little beyond the ſavage tribes around it. Both ſhall be exhibited to the view of the reader, that, from comparing them, he may determine on which ſide the evidence preponderates.

The right of property fully eſtabliſhed.

The right of private property was perfectly underſtood, and eſtabliſhed in its full extent. Among

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18.

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Among ſeveral ſavage tribes, we have ſeen, that the idea of a title to the ſeparate and excluſive poſſeſſion of any object was hardly known; and that among all it was extremely limited and ill-defined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and induſtry had made ſome progreſs, the diſtinction between real and moveable poſſeſſions, between property in land and property in goods, had taken place. Both might be transferred from one perſon to another by ſale or barter; both might deſcend by inheritance. Every perſon who could be denominated a freeman had property in land. This, however they held by various tenures. Some poſſeſſed it in full right, and it deſcended to their heirs. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they loſt poſſeſſion of the former. Both theſe modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the higheſt claſs. The tenure by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every diſtrict a certain quantity of land was meaſured out, in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was depoſited in a common ſtorehouſe, and divided among them according to their reſpective exigencies. The members of the *Calpullee*, or aſſociations, could not alienate, their ſhare of the common eſtate; it was an indiviſible permanent property, deſtined for the ſupport of their families *. In conſequence of this diſtribution of the territory of the ſtate, every man had an intereſt in its welfare, and the happineſs of the individual was connected with the public ſecurity.

The number and greatneſs of their cities.

THE number and greatneſs of the cities in the Mexican empire is one of the moſt ſtriking circumcircum-

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. xiv. c. 7. Corita, MS.

cumſtances. that diſtinguiſh it from thoſe nations in America which we have already deſcribed. While ſociety continues in a rude ſtate, the wants of men are ſo few, and they ſtand ſo little in need of mutual aſſiſtance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their induſtry at the ſame time is ſo imperfect, that it cannot ſecure ſubſiſtence for any conſiderable number of families ſettled in one ſpot. They live diſperſed, at this period from choice as well as from neceſſity, or at the utmoſt aſſemble in ſmall hamlets on the bank of the river which ſupplies them with food, or on the border of ſome plain left open by nature, or cleared by their own labour. The Spaniards, accuſtomed to this mode of habitation among all the ſavage tribes with which they were then acquainted, were aſtoniſhed, on entering New Spain, to find the natives reſiding in towns of ſuch extent as reſembled thoſe of Europe. In the firſt fervour of their admiration, they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the ſecond or third ſize, to cities of greateſt note in their own country. When, afterwards, they viſited in ſucceſſion Tlaſcala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezcuco, and Mexico itſelf, their amazement increaſed ſo much, that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populouſneſs bordering on what is incredible. Even where there is leiſure for obſervation, and no intereſt that leads to deceive, conjectural eſtimates of the number of people in cities are extremely looſe, and uſually much exaggerated. It is not ſurprizing, then, that Cortes and his companions, little accuſtomed to ſuch computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own diſcoveries and conqueſts, ſhould have been betrayed into this common error, and have raiſed their deſcriptions conſiderably above truth. For this reaſon, ſome conſiderable abatement ought to

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be made from their calculation of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities, and we may fix the ſtandard of their population much lower than they have done; but ſtill they will appear to be cities of ſuch conſequence, as are not to be found but among people who have made ſome conſiderable progreſs in the arts of ſocial life *.

The ſeparation of profeſſions.

THE ſeparation of profeſſions among the Mexicans is a ſymptom of improvement no leſs remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of ſociety, are ſo few and ſo ſimple, that each man is ſufficiently maſter of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited deſires. The ſavage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more ſkilful than his own. Time muſt have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity, before the productions of art become ſo complicated in their ſtructure, or ſo curious in their fabric, that a particular courſe of education is requiſite towards forming the artificer to expertneſs in contrivance and workmanſhip. In proportion as refinement ſpreads, the diſtinction of profeſſions increaſes, and they branch out into more numerous and minute ſubdiviſions. Among the Mexicans, this ſeparation of the arts neceſſary in life had taken place to a conſiderable extent. The functions of the maſon, the weaver, the goldſmith, the painter, and of ſeveral other crafts, were carried on by different perſons. Each was regularly inſtructed in his calling. To it alone his induſtry was confined; and by aſſiduous application to one object, together with the perſevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artizans attained to a degree of neatneſs and perfection in work far beyond what could have been expected from the rude

* See NOTE XLIX.

rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the ſtated markets held in the cities their mutual wants were ſupplied *, in ſuch orderly intercourſe as characterizes an improved ſtate of ſociety.

The diſtinction of ranks.

THE diſtinction of ranks eſtabliſhed in the Mexican empire is the next circumſtance that merits attention. In ſurveying the ſavage tribes of America, we obſerved, that conſciouſneſs of equality, and impatience of ſubordination, are ſentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During peace, the authority of a ſuperior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition reſulting from it is unknown. Birth or titles confer no pre-eminence; it is only by perſonal merit and accompliſhments that it can be acquired. The form of ſociety was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people were in a moſt humiliating ſtate. A conſiderable number, known by the name of *Mayeques*, nearly reſembled in condition thoſe peaſants who, under various denominations, were conſidered, during the prevalence of the feudal ſyſtem, as inſtruments of labour attached to the ſoil. The *Mayeques* could not change their place of reſidence without permiſſion of the ſuperior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were ſettled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform ſeveral kinds of ſervile work †. Others were reduced to the loweſt form of ſubjection, that of domeſtic ſervitude, and felt the utmoſt rigour of that wretched

* Cortes Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 239, &c. Gom. Cron. c. 79. Torquem. lib. xiii. c. 34. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 15, &c.

† Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Corita, MS.

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wretched ſtate. Their condition was held to be ſo vile, and their lives deemed to be of ſo little value, that a perſon who killed one of thoſe ſlaves was not ſubjected to any puniſhment*. Even thoſe conſidered as freemen were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior ſpecies. The nobles poſſeſſed of ample territories, were divided into various claſſes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belonged. Some of theſe titles, like their lands, deſcended from father to ſon in perpetual ſucceſſion. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of perſonal diſtinction†. The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extenſive power, and ſupreme dignity. Thus the diſtinction of ranks was completely eſtabliſhed, in a line of regular ſubordination, reaching from the higheſt to the loweſt member of the community. Each of theſe knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dreſs of the ſame faſhion, or to dwell in houſes of a form ſimilar to thoſe of the nobles, accoſted them with the moſt ſubmiſſive reverence. In the preſence of their ſovereign, they durſt not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face‡. The nobles themſelves, when admitted to an audience of their ſovereign, entered bare-footed, in mean garments, and, as his ſlaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This reſpect due from inferiors to thoſe above them in rank, was eſtabliſhed with ſuch ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with their language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expreſſions of reverence and courteſy. The ſtile and appellations, uſed in the intercourſe between equals, would have been ſo unbecoming in the mouth

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 7. † Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Corita, MS. ‡ Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 14.

mouth of one in a lower ſphere, when he accoſted a perſon in higher rank, as to be deemed an inſult *. It is only in ſocieties, which time and the inſtitution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find ſuch an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and ſuch nice attention paid to their various rights.

Their political conſtitution.

THE ſpirit of the Mexicans thus familiarized and bended to ſubordination, was prepared for ſubmitting to monarchical government. But the deſcriptions of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overturned them, are ſo inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their conſtitution with any preciſion. Sometimes they repreſent the monarchs of Mexico as abſolute, deciding according to their pleaſure, with reſpect to every operation of the ſtate. On other occaſions, we diſcover the traces of eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and laws, framed in order to circumſcribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which ſeem to be oppoſed as barriers againſt its encroachments. This appearance of inconſiſtency has ariſen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aſpiring ambition ſubverted the ancient ſyſtem of government, and introduced a pure deſpotiſm. He diſregarded their laws, violated their privileges, and reduced his ſubjects of every order to the level of ſlaves †. The chiefs or nobles of the firſt rank, ſubmitted to the yoke with ſuch reluctance, that, from impatience to ſhake it off, and hope of recovering their original rights many of them courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power againſt their domeſtic

* See NOTE L.

† Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14. Torquem. lib. ii. c. 69.

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meſtic oppreſſor *. It is not then under the reign of Montezuma, but under thoſe of his predeceſſors, that we can diſcover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it ſeems to have ſubſiſted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be diſtinguiſhed by the name of nobility, formed the chief and moſt reſpectable order in the ſtate. They were of various ranks, as has already been obſerved, and their honours were acquired and tranſmitted in different manners. Their number ſeems to have been great. According to an author accuſtomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of this order, each of whom had in his territories about a hundred thouſand people, and ſubordinate to theſe, there were about three thouſand nobles of a lower claſs †. The territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba, were hardly inferior in extent to thoſe of the Mexican monarch ‡. Each of theſe poſſeſſed complete territorial juriſdiction, and levied taxes from their own vaſſals. But all followed the ſtandard of Mexico in war, ſerving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and moſt of them paid tribute to its monarch as their ſuperior lord.

In tracing thoſe great lines of the Mexican conſtitution, an image of feudal policy in its moſt rigid form riſes to view, and we diſcern its three diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, a nobility poſſeſſing almoſt independent authority, a people depreſſed into the loweſt ſtate of ſubjection, and a king entruſted with the executive power of the ſtate. Its ſpirit

* Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 10, 11. Torquem. lib. iv. c. 49. † Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 12. ‡ Torquem. lib. ii. c. 57. Coritas, MS.

ſpirit and principles ſeem to have operated in the New World in the ſame manner, as in the ancient. The juriſdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the ſhadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to exceſs of their own rights, they guarded with moſt vigilant anxiety againſt the encroachments of their ſovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire, it was provided, that the king ſhould not determine concerning any point of general importance, without the approbation of a council compoſed of the prime nobility*. Unleſs he obtained their conſent he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he diſpoſe of the moſt conſiderable branch of the public revenue at pleaſure, it was appropriated to certain purpoſes from which it could not be diveſted by the regal authority †. In order to ſecure full effect to thoſe conſtitutional reſtraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crown to deſcend by inheritance, but diſpoſed of it by election. The right of election ſeems to have been originally veſted in the whole body of nobility, but was afterwards committed to ſix electors, of whom the chiefs of Tezuco and Tacuba were always two. From reſpect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon ſome perſon ſprung from it. But as the activity and valour of their prince was of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a ſtrict adherence to the order of birth, collaterals of mature age or diſtinguiſhed merit were often preferred to thoſe who were nearer the throne in direct deſcent ‡. To this maxim,

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 19. Id. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16. Corita, MS. † Ibid. c. 17. ‡ Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 24. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 13. Corita, MS.

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maxim, in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for ſuch a ſucceſſion of able and warlike princes, as raiſed their empire in a ſhort period to that extraordinary height of power, which it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

Power and ſplendour of their monarchs.

WHILE the juriſdiction of the Mexican monarchs continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exerciſed with little oſtentation. But as their authority became more extenſive, the ſplendour of their government augmented. It was in this laſt ſtate that the Spaniards beheld it, and ſtruck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they deſcribe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants, the order, the ſilence, and the reverence with which they ſerved him; the vaſt extent of his royal manſion, the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the oſtentation with which his grandeur was diſplayed, whenever he permitted his ſubjects to behold him, ſeem to reſemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Aſia, rather than the ſimplicity of the infant ſtates in the New World.

Order of their government.

BUT it was not in the mere parade of royalty, that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power, they manifeſted it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal adminiſtration and police of their dominions. Complete juriſdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vaſſals, was veſted in the crown. Judges were appointed for each department, and if we may rely on the account which the Spaniſh writers give of the maxims and laws upon which they founded their deciſions with reſpect to the diſtribution of property

perty and the punishment of crimes, justice was administered in the Mexican empire, with a degree of order and equity, resembling what takes place in societies highly civilized. BOOK VII.

Their attention in providing for the support of government was not less sagacious. Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquisitions of industry, and upon commodities of every kind exposed to sale in the public markets. These duties, though considerable, were not arbitrary, or unequal. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burden he had to bear. As the use of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind, and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every species of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art were collected in the public storehouses. From those the emperor supplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during war, with food, with cloaths, and ornaments. People of inferior condition, neither possessing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various services. By their stated labour the crown lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houses belonging to the emperor were built and kept in repair*. Provision for the support of it.

The improved state of government among the Mexicans is conspicuous not only in points essential to the being of a well-ordered society, but in several regulations of inferior consequence with respect to police. The institution, which I have already mentioned, of public couriers, stationed at Their police.

* Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16. 17.

See NOTE LI.

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at proper intervals to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The ſtructure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and cauſeways of great length, which ſerved as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water with no leſs ingenuity than labour, ſeems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The ſame obſervation may be applied to the ſtructure of the aqueducts, or conduits, by which they conveyed a ſtream of freſh water, from a conſiderable diſtance, into the city, along one of the cauſeways *. The appointment of a conſiderable number of perſons to clean the ſtreets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrole as watchmen during the night †, diſcovers a degree of attention which even poliſhed nations are late in acquiring.

Their arts.

THE progreſs of the Mexicans in various arts is conſidered as the moſt deciſive proof of their ſuperior refinement. Cortes, and the early Spaniſh authors, deſcribe this with rapture, and maintain, that the moſt celebrated European artiſts could not ſurpaſs or even equal them in ingenuity and neatneſs of workmanſhip. They repreſented men, animals, and other objects, by ſuch a diſpoſition of various coloured feathers, as is ſaid to have produced all the effects of light and ſhade, and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and ſilver have been deſcribed to be of a fabric no leſs curious. But in forming any idea from general deſcriptions, concerning the ſtate of arts among nations imperfectly poliſhed, we are extremely ready

* See NOTE LII. † Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 4. Torribio, MS.

ready to err. In examining the works of people whose advances in improvement are nearly the same with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conscious of our own superiority, we survey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are astonished at works executed by them under such manifest disadvantages, and in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to represent them as productions more finished than they really are. To the influence of this illusion, without supposing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of some Spanish authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

It is not from those descriptions, but from considering such specimens of their arts as are still preserved, that we must decide concerning their degree of merit. As the ship in which Cortes sent to Charles V. the most curious productions of the Mexican artisans, which were collected by the Spaniards when they first pillaged the empire, was taken by a French corsair *, the remains of their ingenuity are less numerous than those of the Peruvians. Whether any of their works with feathers, in imitation of painting, be still extant in Spain, I have not learned; but many of their ornaments in gold and silver, as well as various utensils employed in common life, are deposited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial productions, lately opened by the king of Spain; and I am informed by persons on whose judgment and taste I can rely, that these boasted efforts of their art are uncouth representations of common objects, or very course images of the human and some animal forms, destitute of grace and propriety †. The justness of these

* Relac. de Cort. Ramus. iii. 294, F. † See NOTE LIII.

observations

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observations is confirmed by inspecting the wooden prints or copper plates of their paintings, which have been published by various authors. In them every figure of men, of quadrupeds, or birds, as well as every representation of inanimated nature, is extremely rude and aukward. The hardest Egyptian stile, stiff and imperfect as it was, is more elegant. The scrawls of children delineate objects almost as accurately.

But however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different station belongs to them, when considered as the records of their country, as historical monuments of its policy and transactions; and they become curious as well as interesting objects of attention. The noblest and most beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boast, is that of writing. But the first essays of this art, which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of the species, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection slowly, and by a gradual progression. When the warrior, eager for fame, wished to transmit some knowledge of his exploits to succeeding ages; when the gratitude of a people to their sovereign prompted them to hand down an account of his beneficent deeds to posterity; the first method of accomplishing this, that seems to have occurred to them, was to delineate, in the best manner they could, figures representing the action of which they were solicitous to preserve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called *picture-writing* *, we find traces among some of the most savage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field, he strips a tree of its bark, and with red paint scratches upon it some uncouth figures, which represent the order of his march,

* Divine Legat. of Moses, iii. 73.

march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the ſcalps and captives which he brought home. To thoſe ſimple annals he truſts for renown, and ſoothes himſelf with hope that by their means he ſhall receive praiſe from the warriors of future times *.

COMPARED with thoſe aukward eſſays of their ſavage countrymen, the paintings of the Mexicans may be conſidered as works of compoſition and deſign. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording tranſactions than that of delineating the objects which they wiſhed to repreſent. But they could exhibit a more complex ſeries of events in progreſſive order, and deſcribe, by a proper diſpoſition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his acceſſion to his death; the progreſs of an infant's education from its birth until it attained to the years of maturity; the different recompences and marks of diſtinction conferred upon warriors, in proportion to the exploits which they had performed. Some ſingular ſpecimens of this picture-writing have been preſerved, which are juſtly conſidered as the moſt curious monuments of art brought from the New World. The moſt valuable of theſe was publiſhed by Purchas in ſixty-ſix plates. It is divided into three parts. The firſt contains the hiſtory of the Mexican empire under its ten monarchs. The ſecond is a tribute-roll, repreſenting what each conquered town paid into the royal treaſury. The third is a code of their inſtitutions, domeſtic, political, and military. Another ſpecimen of Mexican painting has been publiſhed in thirty-two plates, by the preſent archbiſhop of Toledo. To both are annexed a full explanation

* Sir W. Johnſon Philoſ. Tranſact. vol. lxii. p. 143. Mem. de la Hontan. ii. 191. Lafitau, Mœurs de Sauv. ii. 43.

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tion of what the figures were intended to repreſent, which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. The ſtyle of painting in all theſe is the ſame. They repreſent *things*, not *words*. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the underſtanding. They may, therefore, be conſidered as the earlieſt and moſt imperfect eſſay of men in their progreſs towards diſcovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording tranſactions muſt have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was, from its nature, a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any ſociety, its annals muſt have ſwelled to an enormous bulk. Beſides this, no objects could be delineated but thoſe of ſenſe; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form, and as long as picture-writing could not convey an idea of theſe, it muſt have been a very imperfect art. The neceſſity of improving it muſt have rouſed and ſharpened invention, and the human mind holding the ſame courſe in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the ſame ſucceſſive ſteps, firſt from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic; next, to the allegorical ſymbol, then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was diſcovered, capable of expreſſing all the variety of combinations of ſound employed in ſpeech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we, accordingly, perceive, that this progreſs was begun among them. Upon an attentive inſpection of the plates, which I have mentioned, we may obſerve ſome approach to the plain or ſimple hieroglyphic, where ſome principal part or circumſtance in the ſubject is made to ſtand for the whole. In the annals of their kings, publiſhed by Purchas, the towns conquered by each are uniformly repreſented in the

ſame

ſame manner by a rude delineation of a houſe; but in order to point out the particular towns which ſubmitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, ſometimes natural objects, and ſometimes artificial figures, are employed. In the tribute-roll, publiſhed by the archbiſhop of Toledo, the houſe, which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to repreſent it. They ſeem even to have made ſome advances beyond this, towards the uſe of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphic. In order to deſcribe a monarch, who had enlarged his dominions by force of arms, they painted a target ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and thoſe towns which he ſubdued. But it is only in one inſtance, the notation of numbers, that we diſcern any attempt to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. They had invented artificial marks, or *ſigns of convention*, for this purpoſe. By means of theſe, they computed the years of the kings reigns, as well as the amount of tribute to be paid into the royal treaſury. The figure of a circle repreſented unit, and in ſmall numbers, the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expreſſed by a peculiar mark, and they had ſuch as denoted all integral numbers from twenty to eight thouſand. The ſhort duration of their empire prevented the Mexicans from advancing farther in that long courſe which conducts men from the labour of delineating real objects, to the ſimplicity and eaſe of alphabetic writing. Their records, notwithſtanding ſome dawn of ſuch ideas as might have led to a more perfect ſtyle, can be conſidered as nothing more than a ſpecies of picture-writing, ſo far improved as to mark their ſuperiority over the ſavage tribes of America, but ſtill ſo defective as to prove that they had not proceeded far be-

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yond the first stage in that progress which must be completed, before any people can be ranked among polished nations *

Their mode of computing time.

THEIR mode of computing time may be considered as a more decisive evidence of their progress in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, each consisting of twenty days, amounting in all to three hundred and sixty. But as they observed that the course of the sun was not compleated in that time, they added five days to the year. These, which were properly intercalary days, they termed *supernumerary* or *waste*; and as they did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no sacred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to festivity and pastime †. This near approach to philosophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had bestowed some attention upon inquiries and speculations, to which men in a very rude state never turn their thoughts.

Facts indicating a small progress in civilization.

SUCH are the most striking particulars in the manners and policy of the Mexicans, which exhibit them to view as a people considerably refined. From other circumstances, one is apt to suspect that their character and many of their institutions, did not differ greatly from those of the other inhabitants of America.

Their wars continual and ferocious.

LIKE the rude tribes around them, the Mexicans were incessantly engaged in war, and the motives which prompted them to hostility seem to have been the same. They fought, in order to gratify their vengeance, by shedding the blood of their enemies. In battle they were chiefly intent on taking prisoners, and it was by the number

* See NOTE LIV. † Acosta, lib. vi. c. 2.

ber of theſe that they eſtimated the glory of victory. No captive was ever ranſomed or ſpared. All were ſacrificed without mercy, and their fleſh devoured with the ſame barbarous joy as among the fierceſt ſavages. On ſome occaſions it roſe to even wilder exceſſes. Their principal warriors covered themſelves with the ſkins of the unhappy victims which they had ſlain, and danced about the ſtreets, boaſting of their own valour, and exulting over their enemies*. Even in their civil inſtitutions we diſcover traces of that barbarous diſpoſition which their ſyſtem of war inſpired. The four chief counſellors of the empire were diſtinguiſhed by atrocious titles, which could have been aſſumed only by a people who delighted in blood†. This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain. The Tlaſcalans, the people of Mechoacan, and other ſtates at enmity with the Mexicans, delighted equally in war, and treated their priſoners with the ſame cruelty. In proportion as mankind combine in ſocial union, and live under the influence of equal laws and regular policy, their manners ſoften, ſentiments of humanity ariſe, and the rights of the ſpecies come to be underſtood. The fierceneſs of war abates, and even while engaged in hoſtility, men remember what they owe one to another. The ſavage fights to deſtroy, the citizen to conquer. The former neither pities nor ſpares, the latter has acquired ſenſibility that tempers his rage. To this ſenſibility the Mexicans ſeem to have been perfect ſtrangers, and among them war was carried on with ſo much of its original barbarity, that we cannot but ſuſpect their degree of civilization to have been very imperfect.

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15. Gom. Chron. c. 217.
† See NOTE LV.

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Their funeral rites.

THEIR funeral rites were not leſs bloody than thoſe of the moſt ſavage tribes. On the death of any diſtinguiſhed perſonage, eſpecially of the emperor, a certain number of his attendants were choſen to accompany him to the other world, and thoſe unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the ſame tomb *.

Their agriculture imperfect.

THOUGH their agriculture was more extenſive than that of the roving tribes who truſted chiefly to their bow for food, it ſeems not to have ſupplied them with ſuch ſubſiſtence as men require when engaged in efforts of active induſtry. The Spaniards appear not to have been ſtruck with any ſuperiority of the Mexicans over the other people of America in bodily vigour. Both, according to their obſervation, were of ſuch a feeble frame as to be unable to endure fatigue, and the ſtrength of one Spaniard exceeded that of ſeveral Indians. This they imputed to their ſcanty diet, on poor fare, ſufficient to preſerve life, but not to give firmneſs to the conſtitution †. Such a remark could hardly have been made with reſpect to any people furniſhed plentifully with the neceſſaries of life. The difficulty which Cortes found in procuring ſubſiſtence for his ſmall body of ſoldiers, who were often conſtrained to live on the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, ſeems to confirm the remark of the Spaniſh writers, and gives no high idea of the ſtate of cultivation in the Mexican empire.

A farther proof of this.

A PRACTICE that was univerſal in New Spain appears to favour this opinion. The Mexican women gave ſuck to their childred for ſeveral years,

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18. Gom. Chron. c. 202.

† Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 306. A. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 16.

years, and during that time they did not cohabit with their huſbands *. This precaution againſt a burdenſome increaſe of progeny, though neceſſary as I have already obſerved, among ſavages, who, from the hardſhips of their condition, and the precarioufneſs of their ſubſiſtence, find it impoſſible to rear a numerous family, can hardly be ſuppoſed to have continued among a people who lived at eaſe and in abundance.

Doubts concerning the extent of the empire.

THE vaſt extent of the Mexican empire, which has been conſidered, and with juſtice, as the moſt deciſive proof of a conſiderable progreſs in regular government and police, is one of thoſe facts in the hiſtory of the New World which ſeems to have been admitted without due examination or ſufficient evidence. The Spaniſh hiſtorians, in order to magnify the valour of their countrymen, are accuſtomed to repreſent the dominion of Montezuma as ſtretching over all the provinces of New Spain from the North to the Southern Ocean. But a great part of the mountainous country was poſſeſſed by the *Otomies*, a fierce uncivilized people, who ſeem to have been the reſidue of the original inhabitants. The provinces towards the north and weſt of Mexico were occupied by the *Chichemicas*, and other tribes of hunters. None of theſe recognized the Mexican monarch as their ſuperior. Even in the interior and more level country, there were ſeveral cities and provinces which had never ſubmitted to the Mexican yoke. Tlaſcala, though only twenty-one leagues from the capital of the empire, was an independent and hoſtile republic. Cholula, though ſtill nearer, had been ſubjected only a ſhort time before the arrival of the Spaniards. Tepeaca at the diſtance of

* Gom. Chron. c. 208. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16.

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of thirty leagues from Mexico, ſeems to have been a ſeparate ſtate, governed by its own laws *. Mechoacan, the frontier of which extended within forty leagues of Mexico, was a powerful kingdom, remarkable for its implacable enmity to the Mexican name †. By theſe hoſtile powers the Mexican empire was circumſcribed on every quarter, and the high ideas which we are apt to form of it from the deſcription of the Spaniſh hiſtorians ſhould be conſiderably moderated.

Little intercourſe among its ſeveral provinces.

In conſequence of this independence of ſeveral ſtates in New Spain upon the Mexican empire, there was not any conſiderable intercourſe between its various provinces. Even in the interior country, not far diſtant from the capital, there ſeem to have been no roads to facilitate the communication of one diſtrict with another; and when the Spaniards firſt attempted to penetrate into it, they had to open their way through foreſts and marſhes ‡. Cortes, in his adventrous march from Mexico to Honduras in 1525, met with obſtructions and endured hardſhips little inferior to thoſe with which he muſt have ſtruggled in the moſt uncivilized regions of America. In ſome places, he could hardly force a paſſage through impervious woods, and plains overflowed with water. In others, he found ſo little cultivation, that his troops were frequently in danger of periſhing by famine. Such facts correſpond ill with the pompous deſcription which the Spaniſh writers give of Mexican police and induſtry, and convey an idea of a country nearly ſimilar to that poſſeſſed by the Indian tribes in North America. Here and there a trading

* Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 15. 21. B. Diaz. c. 130.
† Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 10.
‡ B. Diaz. c. 166. c. 176.

a trading or a war-path, as they are called in North America, led from one ſettlement to another *, but generally there appeared no ſign of any eſtabliſhed communication, few marks of induſtry, and no monument of art.

Farther proof of this.

A NO leſs ſtriking proof of this imperfection in their commercial intercourſe is their want of money, or ſome univerſal ſtandard by which to eſtimate the value of commodities. The diſcovery of this is among the ſteps of greateſt conſequence in the progreſs of nations. Until it has been made, all their tranſactions muſt be ſo awkward, ſo operoſe, and ſo limited, that we may boldly pronounce that they have advanced but a little way in their career. The invention of ſuch a commercial ſtandard is of ſuch high antiquity in our hemiſphere, and riſes ſo far beyond the æra of authentic hiſtory, as to appear almoſt coeval with the exiſtence of ſociety. The precious metals ſeem to have been early employed for this purpoſe, and from their permanent value, their diviſibility, and many other qualities, they are better adapted to ſerve as a common ſtandard, than any other ſubſtance of which Nature has given us the command. But in the New World, where theſe metals abound moſt, the uſe of them was not known. The exigencies of rude tribes, or of monarchies imperfectly civilized, did not call for it. All their commercial intercourſe was carried on by barter, and their ignorance of any common ſtandard by which to facilitate that exchange of commodities which contributes ſo much towards the comfort of life, my be juſtly mentioned as an evidence of the infant ſtate of their policy. But even in the New World the inconvenience of wanting ſome general inſtrument of commerce began to be felt, and ſome efforts were made

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 8.

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made towards ſupplying that defect. The Mexicans, among whom the number and greatneſs of their cities gave riſe to a more extended commerce, than in any part of America, had begun to employ a common ſtandard of value, which rendered ſmaller tranſactions much more eaſy. As chocolate was the favourite drink of perſons in every rank of life, the nuts or almonds of cacao, of which it is compoſed, were of ſuch univerſal conſumption, that, in their ſtated markets, theſe were willingly received in return for commodities of ſmall price. Thus they came to be conſidered as the inſtrument of commerce, and the value of what one wiſhed to diſpoſe of, was eſtimated by the number of nuts of the cacao, which he might expect in exchange for it. This ſeems to be the utmoſt length which the Americans had advanced towards the diſcovery of any expedient for ſupplying the uſe of money. And if the want of it is to be held, on one hand, as a proof of their barbarity, this expedient for ſupplying that want, ſhould be admitted on the other, as an evidence no leſs ſatisfying, of the ſuperior progreſs which the Mexicans had made in refinement and civilization.

Doubts concerning the ſtate of their cities.

In ſuch a rude ſtate were many of the Mexican provinces when firſt viſited by their conquerors. Even their cities, extenſive and populous as they were, ſeem rather to be the habitation of men juſt emerging from barbarity, than the reſidence of a poliſhed people. The deſcription of Tlaſcala nearly reſembles that of an Indian village. A number of low ſtruggling huts, ſcattered about irregularly, according to the caprice of each proprietor, built with turf and ſtone, and thatched with reeds, without any light but what they received by a door, ſo low that it could not be entered upright *.

In

* Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 12.

In Mexico, though from the peculiarity of its situation, the diſpoſition of the houſes was more orderly, the ſtructure of the greater part was equally mean. Nor does the fabric of their temples and other public edifices ſeem to have been ſuch as entitled them to the high praiſes beſtowed upon them by many Spaniſh authors. As far as one can gather from their obſcure and inaccurate deſcriptions, the great temple of Mexico, the moſt famous in New Spain, which has been repreſented as a magnificent building, raiſed to ſuch a height, that the aſcent to it was by a ſtair-caſe of a hundred and fourteen ſteps, was a ſolid maſs of earth of a ſquare form, faced partly with ſtone. Its baſe on each ſide extended ninety feet, and decreaſing gradually as it advanced in height, it terminated in a quadrangle of about thirty feet, where were placed a ſhrine of the deity, and two altars on which the victims were ſacrificed *. All the other celebrated temples of New Spain exactly reſembled that of Mexico †. Such ſtructures convey no high idea of progreſs in art and ingenuity; and one can hardly conceive that a form more rude and ſimple could have occurred to a nation, in its firſt efforts towards erecting any great work. Temples,

GREATER ſkill and ingenuity were diſplayed, if we may believe the Spaniſh hiſtorians, in the houſes of the emperor and in thoſe of the principal nobility. There, ſome elegance of deſign was viſible, and a commodious arrangement of the apartments was attended to. But if buildings correſponding to ſuch deſcriptions had ever exiſted in the Mexican cities, it is probable that ſome remains of them would ſtill be viſible. From the manner in which Cortes conducted the ſiege of Mexico, we can, indeed, and other public buildings.

* Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 17. † See NOTE LVI.

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indeed, eaſily account for the total deſtruction of whatever had any appearance of ſplendor in that capital. But as only two centuries and a half have elapſed ſince the conqueſt of New Spain, it ſeems altogether incredible, that in a period ſo ſhort, every veſtige of this boaſted elegance and grandeur ſhould have diſappeared; and that in none of the other cities, particularly in thoſe which did not ſuffer by the deſtructive hand of the conquerors, there are not any ruins, which can be conſidered as monuments of their ancient magnificence.

EVEN in a village of the rudeſt Indians there are buildings of greater extent and elevation than common dwelling houſes. Thoſe which are deſtined for holding the council of the tribe, and in which all aſſemble on occaſions of public feſtivity, may be called ſtately edifices, when compared with the reſt. As among the Mexicans the diſtinction of ranks was eſtabliſhed, and property was unequally divided, the number of diſtinguiſhed ſtructures in their towns, would of courſe be greater than in other parts of America. But theſe ſeem not to have been either ſo ſolid or magnificent as to merit theſe pompous epithets which ſome Spaniſh authors employ in deſcribing them. It is probable that, though more ornamented, and built on a larger ſcale, they were erected with the ſame ſlight materials which the Indians employed in their common buildings *, and time, in a ſpace much leſs than two hundred and fifty years, may have ſwept away all remains of them †.

FROM this enumeration of facts, it ſeems, upon the whole, to be evident, that the ſtate of ſociety in Mexico was conſiderably advanced beyond that of

* See NOTE LVII. † See NOTE LVIII.

of the ſavage tribes which we have delineated. But it is no leſs manifeſt, that with reſpect to many particulars, the Spaniſh accounts of their progreſs appear to be highly embelliſhed. There is not a more frequent or a more fertile ſource of deception in deſcribing the manners and arts of ſavage nations, or of ſuch as are imperfectly civilized, than that of applying to them the names and phraſes appropriated to the inſtitutions and refinements of poliſhed life. When the leader of a ſmall tribe, or the head of a rude community, is dignified with the title of king or emperor, the place of his reſidence can receive no other name but that of his palace; and whatever his attendants may be, they muſt be called his court. Under ſuch appellations they acquire an importance and dignity which does not belong to them. The illuſion ſpreads, and giving a falſe colour to every part of the narrative, the imagination is ſo much carried away with the reſemblance, that it becomes difficult to diſcern objects as they really are. The Spaniards, when they firſt touched on the Mexican coaſt, were ſo much ſtruck with the appearance of attainments in policy and in the arts of life, far ſuperior to thoſe of the rude tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, that they fancied they had at length diſcovered a civilized people in the New World. This compariſon between the people of Mexico and their uncultivated neighbours, they ſeem to have kept conſtantly in view, and obſerving with admiration many things which marked their pre-eminence, they employ in deſcribing their imperfect policy and infant arts, ſuch terms as are applicable to the inſtitutions of men far beyond them in improvement. Both theſe circumſtances concur in detracting from the credit due to the early Spaniſh deſcriptions of Mexican manners. By drawing a parallel between them and thoſe of people ſo much leſs civilized, they raiſed their

own

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own ideas too high. By their mode of describing them, they conveyed ideas to others no less exalted above truth. Later writers have adopted the style of the original historians, and improved upon it. The colours with which De Solis delineates the character of Montezuma, the splendor of his court, the laws and policy of his empire, are the same that he must have employed in exhibiting to view the monarch and institutions of an highly polished people.

But though we may admit, that the warm imagination of the Spanish writers has added some embellishment to their descriptions, this will not justify the decisive and peremptory tone, with which several authors pronounce all their accounts of the Mexican power, policy, and laws, to be the fictions of men who wished to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. There are few historical facts that can be ascertained by evidence more unexceptionable, than may be produced in support of the material articles, in the description of the Mexican constitution and manners. Eye-witnesses relate what they had beheld, men who had resided among the Mexicans both before and after the conquest, describe institutions and customs which were familiar to them, persons of such different professions that objects must have presented themselves to their view under every various aspect, soldiers, priests, and lawyers, all concur in their testimony. Had Cortes ventured to impose upon his sovereign, by exhibiting to him a picture of imaginary manners, there wanted not enemies and rivals who were qualified to detect his deceit, and who would have rejoiced in exposing it. But according to the just remark of an author, whose ingenuity has illustrated, and whose eloquence has adorned the history of America *, this supposition is in itself as improbable,

* M. l'Abbe Raynal Hist. Philos. & Polit. &c. iii. 127.

ble, as the attempt would have been audacious. Who, among the deſtroyers of this great empire was ſo enlightened by ſcience, or ſo attentive to the progreſs and operations of men in ſocial life, as to frame a fictitious ſyſtem of policy, ſo well combined and ſo conſiſtent, as that which they delineate, in their accounts of the Mexican government? Where could they have borrowed the idea of many inſtitutions in legiſlation and police, to which, at that period, there was nothing parallel in the nations with which they were acquainted? There was not, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, a regular eſtabliſhment of poſts for conveying intelligence to the ſovereign of any kingdom in Europe. The ſame obſervation will apply to what they relate, with reſpect to the ſtructure of the city of Mexico, the regulations concerning its police, and various laws eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, or ſecuring the happineſs of the community. Whoever is accuſtomed to contemplate the progreſs of nations, will often, at very early ſtages of it, diſcover a premature and unexpected dawn of thoſe ideas, which give riſe to inſtitutions, that are the pride and ornament of its moſt advanced period. Even in a ſtate as imperfectly poliſhed as the Mexican empire, the happy genius of ſome ſagacious obſerver, excited or aided by circumſtances unknown to us, may have introduced inſtitutions which are ſeldom found but in ſocieties highly refined. But it is almoſt impoſſible that the illiterate conquerors of the New World ſhould have formed in any one inſtance a conception of cuſtoms and laws, beyond the ſtandard of improvement in their own age and country. Or if Cortes and his followers had been capable of this, what inducement had thoſe by whom they were ſuperſeded to continue the deception? Why ſhould Corita, or Motolinea,

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or Acoſta, have amuſed their ſovereign or their fellow-citizens with a tale purely fabulous?

Religion of the Mexicans.

In one, particular, however, the guides whom we muſt follow have repreſented the Mexicans to be more barbarous perhaps than they really were. Their religious tenets, and the rites of their worſhip, are deſcribed by them as wild and cruel in an extreme degree. Religion, which occupies no conſiderable place in the thoughts of a ſavage, whoſe conceptions of any ſuperior power are obſcure, and his ſacred rites few and ſimple, was formed, among the Mexicans, into a regular ſyſtem, with its complete train of prieſts, temples, victims, and feſtivals. This, of itſelf, is a clear proof that the ſtate of the Mexicans was very different from that of the ruder American tribes. But from the extravagance of their religious notions, or the barbarity of their rites, no concluſion can be drawn with certainly concerning the degree of their civilization. For nations, long after their ideas begin to enlarge, and their manners to refine, adhere to ſyſtems of ſuperſtition, founded on the rude conceptions of early ages. From the genius of the Mexican religion, we may, however, form a moſt juſt concluſion with reſpect to its influence upon the character of the people. The aſpect of ſuperſtition in Mexico was gloomy and atrocious. Its divinities were cloathed with terror, and delighted in vengeance. They were exhibited to the people under deteſtable forms that created horror. The figures of ſerpents, of tygers, and of other deſtructive animals, decorated their temples. Fear was the only principle that inſpired their votaries. Faſts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid, and many of them excruciating to an extreme degree, were the

the means which they employed to appeaſe their wrath, and they never approached their altars without ſprinkling them with blood drawn from their own bodies. But, of all offerings, human ſacrifices were deemed the moſt acceptable. This religious belief, mingling with the implacable ſpirit of vengeance, and adding new force to it, every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, was devoted as a victim to the deity, and ſacrificed with rites no leſs ſolemn than cruel *. The heart and head were the portion conſecrated to the gods; the warrior by whoſe proweſs the priſoner had been ſeized, carried off the body to feaſt upon it with his friends. Under the impreſſion of ideas ſo dreary and terrible, and accuſtomed daily to ſcenes of bloodſhed rendered awful by religion, the heart of man muſt harden, and be ſteeled to every ſentiment of humanity. The ſpirit of the Mexicans was accordingly unfeeling and atrocious. The genius of their religion ſo far counterbalanced the influence of policy and arts, that, notwithſtanding their progreſs in both, their manners, inſtead of ſoftening, became more fierce. To what circumſtances it was owing that ſuperſtition aſſumed ſuch a dreadful form among the Mexicans, we have not ſufficient knowledge of their hiſtory to determine. But its influence is viſible, and produced an effect that is ſingular in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies. The manners of the people in the New World, who had made the greateſt progreſs in the arts of policy, were the moſt ferocious, and the barbarity of ſome of their cuſtoms exceeded even thoſe of the ſavage ſtate.

Pretenſions of Peru to an high antiquity,

THE empire of Peru boaſts of an higher antiquity than that of Mexico. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards it had ſubſiſted

* Cort. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 240, &c. B. Diaz, c. 82. Acoſta, lib. v. c. 13, &c. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15, &c. Gomara Chron. c. 80, &c. See NOTE LIX.

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ſubſiſted four hundred years, under twelve ſucceſſive monarchs. But the knowledge of their ancient ſtory, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, muſt have been both imperfect and uncertain*. Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and deſtitute of the only means by which the memory of paſt tranſactions can be preſerved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the uſe of letters is known, the æra where the authenticity of hiſtory commences, is much poſterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continued long ſubſervient to the common buſineſs and wants of life, before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down hiſtoric knowledge, in any full continued ſtream, during a period of half the length that the monarchy of Peru is ſaid to have ſubſiſted.

uncertain.

Defects in their records by Quipos.

THE *Quipos*, or knots on cords of different colours, which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly ſupplied the place of writing. According to the obſcure deſcription of them by Acoſta †, which Garcilaſſo de la Vega has adopted with little variation, and no improvement, the quipos ſeem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours different objects were denoted, and by each knot a diſtinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of regiſter kept, of the inhabitants in each province, or of the ſeveral productions collected there for public uſe. But as theſe knots however varied or combined no moral or abſtract

* See NOTE LX. † Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 8.

abſtract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be repreſented, they contributed little towards preſerving the memory of ancient events and inſtitutions. The Mexican paintings and ſymbols, rude as they were, conveyed to them more knowledge of remote tranſactions, than the Peruvians could derive from their boaſted quipos. Had they been even of more extenſive uſe, and better adapted to ſupply the place of written records, they periſhed ſo generally, together with the other monuments of the Peruvian ingenuity, in the general wreck occaſioned by the Spaniſh conqueſt, and the civil wars ſubſequent to it, that no acceſſion of light or knowledge comes from them. All the zeal of Garcilaſſo de la Vega for the honour of that race of monarchs from whom he deſcended, all the induſtry of his reſearches, and the ſuperior advantages with which he carried them on, opened no ſource of information unknown to the Spaniſh authors who wrote before him. In his *Royal Commentaries*, he confines himſelf to illuſtrate what they had related concerning the antiquities and inſtitutions of Peru *; and his illuſtrations, like their accounts, are derived entirely from the traditionary tales current among his countrymen.

VERY little credit then is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conqueſts, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can reſt upon nothing in their ſtory, as authentic but a few facts, ſo interwoven in the ſyſtem of their religion and policy, as preſerved the memory of them from being loſt; and upon the deſcription of ſuch cuſtoms and inſtitutions as continued in force at the time of the conqueſt, and fell under the

* Lib. i. c. 10.

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immediate obſervation of the Spaniards. By attending carefully to theſe, and endeavouring to ſeparate them from what appears to be fabulous, or of doubtful authority, I have laboured to form an idea of the Peruvian government and manners.

Origin of their civil policy.

THE people of Peru, as I have already obſerved *, had not advanced beyond the rudeſt form of ſavage life, when Manco Capac, and his conſort Mama Ocollo, appeared to inſtruct and civilize them. Who theſe extraordinary perſonages were, whether they imported their ſyſtem of legiſlation and knowledge of arts from ſome country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas ſo far ſuperior to thoſe of the people whom they addreſſed, are circumſtances with reſpect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no information. Manco Capac and his conſort, taking advantage of the propenſity in the Peruvians to ſuperſtition, and particularly of their veneration for the Sun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their inſtructions in his name and authority. The multitude liſtened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians aſcribe to thoſe founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his conſort, their anceſtors gradually acquired ſome knowledge of thoſe arts, and ſome reliſh for that induſtry, which render ſubſiſtence ſecure, and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Thoſe bleſſings were originally confined within narrow precincts; for the authority of the firſt Inca did not reach many leagues beyond Cuzco. But, in proceſs of time, his ſucceſſors extended their dominion over all the regions that ſtretch to the weſt

* Book vi. p. 163, &c.

weſt of the Andes from Chili to Quito, eſtabliſhing in every province their peculiar policy and religious inſtitutions. BOOK VII.

THE moſt ſingular and ſtriking circumſtance in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make ſuch a feeble impreſſion on the mind of a ſavage, that their effect upon his ſentiments and manners are hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion reduced into a regular ſyſtem, and holding a conſiderable place in their public inſtitutions, operated with conſpicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole ſyſtem of civil policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legiſlator, but as the meſſenger of Heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a ſuperior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was held to be ſacred; and in order to preſerve it diſtinct, without being polluted by any mixture of inferior blood, the ſons of Manco Capac married their own ſiſters, and no perſon was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by ſuch a pure deſcent. To thoſe *Children of the Sun*, (for that was the appellation beſtowed upon all the offspring of the firſt Inca) the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a ſuperior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they iſſued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was ſuppoſed to be dictated. Founded in religion.

FROM thoſe ideas two conſequences reſulted. The authority of the Inca was unlimited and abſolute, in the moſt extenſive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are conſidered as the commands of the Divinity, it is not only an Two remarkable effects of this.

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The abſolute power of the Inca.

act of rebellion, but of impiety, to diſpute or oppoſe his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to controul a monarch under the guidance of Heaven, and preſumptuous to adviſe him, nothing remains but to ſubmit with implicit reſpect. This muſt neceſſarily be the effect of every government eſtabliſhed on pretenſions of intercourſe with ſuperior powers. Such accordingly was the blind ſubmiſſion which the Peruvians yielded to their ſovereigns. The perſons of higheſt rank and greateſt power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in teſtimony of this, when admitted into their preſence, they entered with a burden upon their ſhoulders, as an emblem of their ſervitude, and willingneſs to bear whatever the Inca was pleaſed to impoſe. Among their ſubjects, force was not requiſite to ſecond their commands. Every officer entruſted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent obſerver of Peruvian manners*, might proceed alone from one extremity of the empire to another, without meeting oppoſition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal *Borla*, an ornament peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his diſpoſal.

All crimes puniſhed capitally.

ANOTHER conſequence of eſtabliſhing government in Peru on the foundation of religion, was, that all crimes were puniſhed capitally. They were not conſidered as tranſgreſſions of human laws, but as inſults offered to the Deity. Each, without any diſtinction between ſuch as were ſlight and ſuch as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Conſonantly to the ſame ideas, puniſhment followed the treſpaſs with inevitable certainty,

* Zarate, lib. i. c. 13.

tainty, because an offence against Heaven was deemed such an high enormity as could not be pardoned*. Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of jurisprudence so severe and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and desperate, would be more apt to multiply crimes than to restrain them. But the Peruvians, of simple manners and unsuspicious faith, were held in such awe by this rigid discipline, that the number of offenders were extremely small. Veneration for monarchs, enlightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of punishment, which they were taught to consider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

Mild genius of their religion.

THE system of superstition on which the Incas ingrafted their pretensions to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that established among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The Sun, as the great source of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The Moon and Stars, as cooperating with him, were entitled to secondary honours. Wherever the propensity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore some superior power, takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exist in nature, the spirit of superstition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are supposed to preside in nature, and become the objects of worship, superstition always assumes a wilder and more atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the

* Vega, lib. ii. c. 6.

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the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru. They had not, indeed, made ſuch progreſs in obſervation or inquiry, as to have attained juſt conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the World *. But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its univerſal and vivifying energy, is the beſt emblem of divine beneficence, the rites and obſervances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the Sun a part of thoſe productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the boſom of the earth, and reared to maturity. They ſacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, ſome of the animals who were indebted to his influence for nouriſhment. They preſented to him choice ſpecimens of thoſe works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never ſtained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father the Sun would be delighted with ſuch horrid victims †. Thus the Peruvians, unacquainted with thoſe barbarous rites which extinguiſh ſenſibility, and ſuppreſs the feelings of nature at the ſight of human ſufferings, were formed, by the ſpirit of the ſuperſtition which they had adopted, to a national character more gentle than that of any people in America.

Its influence in civil policy,

Its influence operated even upon their civil inſtitutions, and tended to correct in them any thing that was adverſe to gentleneſs of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the moſt abſolute of all deſpotiſms, was mitigated by its alliance with religion.

* Acoſta, lib. v. c. 3. † See NOTE LXI.

gion. The mind was not humbled and depreſſed by the idea of a forced ſubjection to the will of a ſuperior; obedience, paid to one who was believed to be cloathed with divine authority, was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The ſovereign, conſcious that the ſubmiſſive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly deſcent, was continually reminded of a diſtinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was ſuppoſed to repreſent. In conſequence of thoſe impreſſions, there hardly occurs in the traditional hiſtory of Peru, any inſtance of rebellion againſt the reigning prince, and, among twelve ſucceſſive monarchs, there was not one tyrant.

and uſe on their military ſyſtem.

EVEN the wars in which the Incas engaged, were carried on with a ſpirit very different from that of other American nations. They fought not, like ſavages, to deſtroy and exterminate; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirſty divinities with human ſacrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquiſhed, and to diffuſe the knowledge of their own inſtitutions and arts. Priſoners ſeem not to have been expoſed to the inſults and tortures, which were their lot in every part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they ſubdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original ſubjects. This practice, ſo repugnant to American ferocity, and reſembling the humanity of the moſt poliſhed nations, muſt be aſcribed, like other peculiarities which we have obſerved in the Peruvian manners, to the genius of their religion. The Incas, conſidering the homage paid to any object but the heavenly powers which they adored, as impious, were fond of gaining proſelytes to their favourite ſyſtem.

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tem. The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco *, and placed there as trophies of the ſuperior power of the divinity who was the protector of the empire. The people were treated with lenity, and inſtructed in the religious tenets of their new maſters †, that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

Peculiar ſtate of property.

THE ſtate of property in Peru, was no leſs ſingular than that of religion, and contributed, likewiſe, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three ſhares. One was conſecrated to the Sun, and whatever it produced was applied towards the erection of temples, and furniſhing what was requiſite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The other belonged to the Inca, and was ſet apart as the proviſion made by the community for the ſupport of government. The third and largeſt ſhare was reſerved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. No perſon, however, had a right of excluſive property in the portion allotted to him. He poſſeſſed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new diviſion was made in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All thoſe lands were cultivated by the joint induſtry of the community. The people, ſummoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common taſk, while ſongs and muſical inſtruments cheered them to their labour ‡. By this ſingular diſtribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common intereſt, and of mutual ſubſer-

Effects of this.

viency

* Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 12.
† Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 8. ‡ Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 2. Vega, lib. v. c. 5.

viency was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connection with thoſe around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increaſe he was to reap. A ſtate thus conſtituted may be conſidered as one great family, in which the union of members was ſo complete, and the exchange of good offices ſo perceptible, as to create ſtronger attachment, and to bind man to man in cloſer intercourſe, than ſubſiſted under any form of ſociety eſtabliſhed in America. From this reſulted gentle manners, and mild virtues unknown in the ſavage ſtate, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

Inequality of ranks.

BUT though the inſtitutions of the Incas were ſo framed as to ſtrengthen the bonds of affection among their ſubjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The diſtinction of ranks was fully eſtabliſhed in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants under the denomination of *Yanaconas*, were held in a ſtate of ſervitude. Their garb and houſes were of a form different from thoſe of freemen. Like the *Tamemes* of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery *. Next to them in rank, were ſuch of the people as were free, but diſtinguiſhed by no official or hereditary honours. Above them were raiſed, thoſe whom the Spaniards call *Orejones*, from the ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace, as well as war, held every office of power or truſt †. At the head of all were the children of the Sun who, by their high deſcent, and peculiar privileges, were as

* Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. lib. x. c. 8. † Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 1.

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State of arts. SUCH a form of ſociety, from the union of its members, as well as from the diſtinction in their ranks, was favourable to progreſs in the arts. But the Spaniards, having been acquainted with the improved ſtate of various arts in Mexico, ſeveral years before they diſcovered Peru, were not ſo much ſtruck with what they obſerved in the latter country, and deſcribe the appearances of ingenuity there with leſs warmth of admiration. The Peruvians, nevertheleſs, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the neceſſary arts of life, and in ſuch as have ſome title to the name of elegant.

Improved ſtate of agriculture. IN Peru, agriculture, the art of primary neceſſity in ſocial life, was more extenſive, and carried on with greater ſkill than in any part of America. The Spaniards in their progreſs through the country, were ſo fully ſupplied with proviſions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with none of thoſe diſmal ſcenes of diſtreſs occaſioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were ſo often involved. The quantity of ſoil under cultivation was not left to the diſcretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigences of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful ſeaſon was but little felt, for the product of the lands conſecrated to the Sun, as well as thoſe ſet apart for the Inca, being depoſited in the *Tambos*, or public ſtore-houſes, it remained there as a ſtated proviſion for times of ſcarcity *. As the extent of cultivation was determined with ſuch provident attention to the

* Zarate, lib. i. c. 14. Vega, lib. i. c. 8.

the demands of the ſtate, the invention and induſtry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and ſoil. All the vaſt rivers that flow from the Andes take their courſe eaſtward to the Atlantic Ocean. Peru is wattered only by ſome ſtreams which ruſh down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low country is ſandy and barren, and never refreſhed with rain. In order to render ſuch an unpromiſing region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had recourſe to various expedients. By means of artificial canals, conducted, with much patience and conſiderable art, from the torrents that poured acroſs their country, they conveyed a regular ſupply of moiſture to their fields*. They enriched the ſoil by manuring it with the dung of ſea-fowls, of which they found an inexhauſtible ſtore on all the iſlands ſcattered along their coaſts†. In deſcribing the cuſtoms of any nation thoroughly civilized, ſuch practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable, but in the hiſtory of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as ſingular proofs of induſtry and of art. The uſe of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood‡. Nor was this labour deemed ſo degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both ſexes joined in performing this neceſſary work. Even the children of the Sun ſet an example of induſtry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this function by denominating it their triumph over the earth§.

THE

* Zarate, lib. i. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 1. & 24. † Acoſta, lib. iv. c. 37 Vega, lib. v. c. 3. See NOTE LXII.
‡ Zarate, lib. i. c. 8. § Vega, lib. v. c. 2.

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Their buildings.

THE ſuperior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewiſe, in the conſtruction of their houſes and public buildings. In the extenſive plains which ſtretch along the Pacific Ocean, where the ſky is perpetually ſerene, and the climate mild, their houſes were very properly of a fabric extremely ſlight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the viciſſitude of ſeaſons is known, and their rigour felt, they were conſtructed with greater ſolidity. They were generally of a ſquare form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the ſun, the door low and ſtrait, and without any windows. Simple as theſe ſtructures were, and rude as the materials may ſeem to be of which they were formed, they were ſo durable, that many of them ſtill ſubſiſt in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domeſtic ſtate of the other American nations has vaniſhed from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples conſecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings deſtined for the reſidence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians diſplayed the utmoſt extent of their art and contrivance. The deſcriptions of them by ſuch of the Spaniſh writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them while, in ſome meaſure, entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated, if the ruins which ſtill remain, did not vouch the truth of their relations. Theſe ruins of ſacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonſtrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who muſt have ſubſiſted, during a period of ſome extent, in a ſtate of no inconſiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices various in their dimenſions. Some of a moderate ſize, many of immenſe extent, all remarkable for ſolidity, and reſembling each other in the ſtile of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace

of

of the Inca, and a fortreſs, were ſo connected together as to form one great ſtructure, above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the ſame ſingular taſte in building is conſpicuous as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the uſe of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large ſtones and bricks which they employed in building to any conſiderable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they ſeem to have made their greateſt effort towards magnificence, did not riſe above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not diſcovered the uſe of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or ſtones were joined with ſo much nicety, that the ſeams can hardly be diſcerned *. The apartments, as far as the diſtribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill-diſpoſed, and afforded little accommodation. There was not a ſingle window in any part of the building; and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largeſt dimenſion muſt either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by ſome other means. But with all theſe and many other imperfections that might be mentioned, in their art of building, the works of the Peruvians which ſtill remain muſt be conſidered as ſtupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the uſe of iron, and convey to us an high idea of the power poſſeſſed by their ancient monarchs.

Their public roads.

THESE, however, were not the nobleſt or moſt uſeful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted ſtretch above five hundred leagues, are entitled to ſtill higher praiſe. The one was conducted through the

* See NOTE LXIII.

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the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the ſea-coaſt. From the language of admiration in which ſome of the early writers expreſs their aſtoniſhment when they firſt viewed thoſe roads, and from the more pompous deſcriptions of later writers, who labour to ſupport ſome favourite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power: But in a country where there was no tame animal except the Llama, which was never uſed for draught, and but little as a beaſt of burden, where the high roads were ſeldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labour and art was requiſite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet in breadth *, and in many places ſo ſlightly formed, that time ſoon effaced every veſtige of the courſe in which they ran. In the low country little more ſeems to have been done, than to plant trees or to fix poſts at certain intervals, in order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous taſk. Eminences were levelled, and hollows filled up, and, for the preſervation of the road, it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper diſtances, *Tambos*, or ſtorehouſes, were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progreſs through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its courſe may ſtill be traced †. Such was

* Cieca, c. 60. † Xerez, p. 189. 191. Zarate, lib. i. c. 13. c4. Vega, lib. ix. c. 13. Bouguer Voyage, p. 105. Ulloa Entretenemientos, p. 365.

was the celebrated road of the Incas; and even from this deſcription, diveſted of every circumſtance of manifeſt exaggeration, or of ſuſpicious aſpect, it muſt be conſidered as a ſtriking proof of an extraordinary progreſs in improvement and policy. To the ſavage tribes of America, the idea of facilitating communication with places at a diſtance had never occurred. To the Mexicans it was hardly known. Even in the moſt civilized countries of Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before it became a regular object of national police to form ſuch roads as render intercourſe commodious.

and bridges.

THE formation of thoſe roads introduced another improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the reſt of America. In its courſe from ſouth to north, the road of the Incas was interſected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Weſtern Ocean. From the rapidity of their courſe, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation, theſe were unnavigable. Some expedient, however, was to be found for paſſing them. The Peruvians, from their unacquaintance with the uſe of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not conſtruct bridges either of ſtone or timber. But neceſſity the parent of invention ſuggeſted a device which ſupplied that defect. They formed cables of great ſtrength, by twiſting together ſome of the pliable withs or oſiers, with which their country abounds; ſix of which they ſtretched acroſs the ſtream parallel to one another, and made them faſt on each ſide. Theſe they bound firmly together by interweaving ſmaller ropes ſo cloſe, as to form a compact piece of network, which, being covered with branches of trees

and

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and earth, they passed along it with tolerable security *. Proper persons were appointed to attend at each bridge, to keep them in repair, and to assist passengers †. In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and still, they are passed in *Balzas*, or floats; in the construction, as well as navigation of which, the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far superior to that of any people in America. These had advanced no farther in naval skill than the use of the paddle, or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raise a mast, and spread a sail, by means of which their Balzas not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity ‡.

Mode of refining silver ore.

Nor were the ingenuity and art of the Peruvians confined solely to objects of essential utility. They had made some progress in arts, which may be called elegant. They possessed the precious metals in greater abundance than any people of America. They obtained gold in the same manner with the Mexicans, by searching in the channels of rivers, or washing the earth in which particles of it were contained. But in order to procure silver, they exerted no inconsiderable degree of skill and invention. They had not, indeed, attained the art of sinking a shaft into the bowels of the earth, and penetrating to the riches concealed there; but they hollowed deep caverns on the banks of rivers, and the sides of mountains, and emptied such veins as did not dip suddenly beyond their reach. In other places, where the vein lay near the surface, they dug pits to such a depth, that the person who worked below could throw out the ore, or hand it up in baskets §. They had discovered the art of

* NOTE LXIV. † Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 367, B. Zarate, lib. i. c 14. Vega, lib. iii. c. 7, 8. Herrera, dec. v. lib. iv. c. 3, 4, ‡ Ulloa Voy. i. 176, &c. § Ramusio, iii. 414, A.

of ſmelting and refining this, either by the ſimple application of fire, or where the ore was more ſtubborn, and impregnated with foreign ſubſtances, by placing it in ſmall ovens or furnaces on high grounds, ſo artificially conſtructed, that the draught of air performed the function of a bellows, a machine with which they were totally unacquainted. By this ſimple device, the purer ores were ſmelted with ſuch facility, that the quantity of ſilver in Peru was ſo conſiderable, that many of the utenſils employed in the functions of common life were made of it *. Several of thoſe veſſels and trinkets are ſaid to have merited no ſmall degree of eſtimation, on account of the neatneſs of the workmanſhip, as well as the intrinſic value of the materials. But as the conquerors of America were well acquainted with the latter, but had ſcarcely any conception of the former, moſt of them were melted down, and rated according to their weight and fineneſs in the diviſion of the ſpoil.

Works of elegance.

In other works of mere curioſity, or ornament, their ingenuity has been highly celebrated. Many of theſe have been dug out of the *Guacas*, or mounds of earth, with which they covered the bodies of the dead. Among theſe are mirrors of various dimenſions, of hard ſhining ſtones highly poliſhed; veſſels of earthen ware of different forms; hatchets, and other inſtruments, ſome deſtined for war, and others for labour. Some were of flint, ſome of copper, hardened to ſuch a degree by an unknown proceſs, as to ſupply the place of iron on ſeveral occaſions. Had the uſe of theſe tools formed of copper been general, the progreſs of the Peruvians in the arts might have

* Acoſta, lib. iv. c. 4, 5. Vega, p. i. lib. viii. c. 25. Ulloa Entreten. 258.

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been ſuch, as to emulate that of more cultivated nations. But either the metal was ſo rare, or the operation by which it was hardened ſo tedious, that their inſtruments of copper were few, and ſo extremely ſmall, that they ſeem to have been employed only in ſlighter works. But even to ſuch a circumſcribed uſe of this imperfect metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their ſuperiority to the other people of America in various arts *. The ſame obſervation, however, may be applied to them, which I formerly made with reſpect to the arts of the Mexicans. From ſeveral ſpecimens of Peruvian utenſils and ornaments, which are depoſited in the royal cabinet in Madrid, and from ſome preſerved in different collections in other parts of Europe, I have reaſon to believe, that the workmanſhip is more to be admired on account of the rude tools with which it was executed, than on account of its intrinſic neatneſs and elegance; and that the Peruvians, though the moſt improved of all the Americans, were not advanced beyond the infancy of arts.

An imperfect civilization.

BUT notwithſtanding ſo many circumſtances, which ſeem to indicate an high degree of improvement in Peru, others occur that ſuggeſt the idea of a ſociety ſtill in the firſt ſtages of its tranſition from barbariſm to civilization. In all the dominions of the Incas, Cuſco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name of a city. Every where elſe, the people lived moſtly in detached habitations, diſperſed over the country, or, at the utmoſt, ſettled together in ſmall villages †. But until men are brought to aſſemble in numerous bodies, and incorporated in ſuch cloſe union, as to enjoy frequent intercourſe, and to feel mutual dependence, they never imbibe perfectly the

No cities but Cuſco.

* Ulloa Voy. tom. i. 381, &c. Id. Entreten. p. 369, &c.

† Zarate, lib. i. c. 9. Herrera, dec. v. lib. vi. c. 4.

the ſpirit, or aſſume the manners of ſocial life. In a country of immenſe extent, with only one city, the progreſs of manners, and the improvement either of the neceſſary or more refined arts, muſt have been ſo ſlow, and carried on under ſuch diſadvantages, that it is more ſurpriſing the Peruvians ſhould have advanced ſo far in refinement, than that they did not proceed farther.

No perfect ſeparation of profeſſions.

In conſequence of this ſtate of imperfect union, the ſeparation of profeſſions in Peru was not ſo complete as among the Mexicans. The leſs cloſely men aſſociate, the more ſimple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. The crafts of common and moſt neceſſary uſe in life do not, in ſuch a ſtate, become ſo complex or difficult, as to render it requiſite that men ſhould be trained to them by any particular courſe of education. All thoſe profeſſions were accordingly exerciſed by every Peruvian indiſcriminately. None but the artiſts, employed in works of mere curioſity or ornament, conſtituted a ſeparate order of men, or were diſtinguiſhed from other citizens [e].

Little commercial intercourſe.

From the want of cities in Peru, another conſequence followed. There was little commercial intercourſe among the inhabitants of that great empire. The activity of commerce is coeval with the foundation of cities; and from the moment that the members of any community ſettle in conſiderable numbers in one place, its operations become vigorous. The citizen muſt depend for ſubſiſtence on the labour of thoſe who cultivate the ground. They, in return, muſt receive ſome

[e] Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 15. Vega, lib. v. c. 9. Herrera, dec. v. lib. iv. c. 4.

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equivalent. Thus mutual intercourſe is eſtabliſhed, and the productions of art are regularly exchanged for the fruits of agriculture. In the towns of the Mexican empire, ſtated markets were held, and whatever could ſupply any want or deſire of man was an object of commerce. But in Peru, from the ſingular mode of dividing property, and the manner in which the people were ſettled, there was ſcarcely any ſpecies of commerce carried on between different provinces *, and the community was leſs acquainted with that active intercourſe, which is at once a bond of union, and an incentive to improvement.

Unwarlike ſpirit of the Peruvians,

But the unwarlike ſpirit of the Peruvians was the moſt remarkable, as well as the moſt fatal defect in their characters †. The greater part of the rude nations in America, oppoſed their invaders with undaunted ferocity, though with little conduct or ſucceſs. The Mexicans maintained the ſtruggle in defence of their liberties, with ſuch perſevering fortitude, that it was with difficulty the Spaniards triumphed over them. Peru was ſubdued at once, and almoſt without reſiſtance; and the moſt favourable opportunities of regaining their freedom, and cruſhing their oppreſſors, were loſt through the timidity of the people. Though the traditional hiſtory of the Peruvians repreſents all the Incas as warlike princes, frequently at the head of armies which they led to victory and conqueſt; few ſymptoms of ſuch a martial ſpirit appear in any of their operations ſubſequent to the invaſion of the Spaniards. The influence, perhaps, of thoſe inſtitutions which

* Vega, lib. vi. c. 8. † Xerez, 190. Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 372. Herrera, dec. v. lib. i. c. 3.

which rendered their manners gentle, gave their minds this unmanly ſoftneſs; perhaps, the conſtant ſerenity and mildneſs of the climate may have enervated the vigour of their frame; perhaps, ſome principle in their government, unknown to us, was the occaſion of this political debility. Whatever may have been the cauſe, the fact is certain, and there is not an inſtance in hiſtory of any people ſo little advanced in refinement, ſo totally deſtitute of military talents and enterprize. This character hath deſcended to their poſterity. The Indians of Peru are now more tame and depreſſed than any people of America. The feeble ſpirits, relaxed in lifeleſs inaction, ſeem hardly capable of any bold or manly exertion.

But, beſides thoſe capital defects in the political ſtate of Peru, ſome detached circumſtances and facts occur in the Spaniſh writers which diſcover a conſiderable remainder of barbarity in their manners. The ſame cruel cuſtom, that prevailed in ſome of the moſt ſavage tribes, ſubſiſted among the Peruvians. On the death of the Incas, and of other eminent perſons, a conſiderable number of their attendants were put to death, and interred around their Guaca, that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be ſerved with the ſame reſpect. On the death of Huana-Capac, the moſt powerful of their monarchs, above a thouſand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb *. In one particular, their manners appear to have been more barbarous than thoſe of moſt rude tribes. Though acquainted with the uſe of fire in preparing maize, and other vegetables for food; they devoured both fleſh and fiſh perfectly raw, and

* Acoſta, lib. v. c. 7.

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and aſtoniſhed the Spaniard, with a practice repugnant to the ideas of all civilized people *.

Other dominions of Spain in America.

BUT though Mexico and Peru are the poſſeſſions of Spain in the New World, which, on account both of their ancient and preſent ſtate, have attracted the greateſt attention; her other dominions there are far from being inconſiderable, either in extent or value. Moſt of them were reduced to ſubjection during the firſt part of the ſixteeenth century, by private adventurers, who fitted out their ſmall armaments either in Hiſpaniola, or in Old Spain, and were we to follow each leader in his progreſs, we ſhould diſcover the ſame daring courage, the ſame perſevering ardour, the ſame rapacious deſire of wealth, and the ſame capacity of enduring and ſurmounting every thing in order to attain it, which diſtinguiſhed the operations of the Spaniards in their greater American conqueſts. But, inſtead of entering into a detail, which, from the ſimilarity of the tranſactions, would appear almoſt a repetition of what has been already related, I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with ſuch a view of thoſe provinces of the Spaniſh empire in America, which have not hitherto been mentioned, as may convey to my readers a more adequate idea of its greatneſs, fertility, and opulence.

A brief ſurvey of them.

Such as are adjacent to the empire of Mexico.

I BEGIN with the countries contiguous to the two great monarchies, of whoſe hiſtory and inſtitutions I have given ſome account, and ſhall then briefly deſcribe the other diſtricts of Spaniſh America. The juriſdiction of the viceroy of New Spain extends over ſeveral provinces, which were not ſubject to the dominion of the Mexicans. The countries of Cinaloa and Sonora, that ſtretch along the eaſt ſide of the Vermilion ſea, or gulf of

Cinaloa and Sonora, &c.

* Xeres, p. 190. Sancho, Ram. iii. 372. C. Herrera dec. v. lib. i. c. 3.

of California, as well as the immenſe kingdoms of New Navarre and New Mexico, which bend towards the weſt and north, did not acknowledge the ſovereignty of Montezuma, or his predeceſſors. Theſe regions, not inferior in magnitude to all the Mexican empire, are reduced more or leſs completely under the Spaniſh yoke. The extend through the moſt delightful part of the temperate zone; their ſoil is, in general, remarkably fertile, and all their productions, whether animal or vegetable, are moſt perfect in their kind. They have all a communication either with the Pacific Ocean, or with the Gulf of Mexico, and are watered by ſuch rivers as not only enrich them, but may become ſubſervient to commerce. The number of Spaniards ſettled in thoſe vaſt countries, is indeed extremely ſmall. They may be ſaid to have ſubdued, rather than to have occupied them. But if the population in their ancient eſtabliſhments in America ſhall continue to increaſe, they may gradually ſpread over thoſe diſtricts, of which, however inviting, they have not hitherto been able to take poſſeſſion. BOOK VII.

ONE circumſtance may contribute to the ſpeedy population of ſome diſtricts. Very rich mines both of gold and ſilver have been diſcovered in many of the regions which I have mentioned. Wherever theſe are opened, and worked with ſucceſs, a multitude of people reſort. In order to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life, cultivation muſt be increaſed, artiſans of various kinds muſt aſſemble, and induſtry as well as wealth will be gradually diffuſed. Many examples of this have occurred in different parts of America ſince they fell under the dominion of the Spaniards. Populous villages and large towns have ſuddenly ariſen amidſt uninhabited wilds and mountains; and the working of mines, though far from being the moſt proper object towards which Rich mines.

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which the attention of an infant ſociety ſhould be turned, may become the means both of promoting uſeful activity, and of augmenting the number of people. A recent and ſingular inſtance of this has happened, which, as it is but little known in Europe, and may be productive of great effects, merits attention. The Spaniards ſettled in the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora, had been long diſturbed by the depredations of ſome fierce tribes of Indians. In the year 1765, their incurſions became ſo frequent, and ſo deſtructive, that the inhabitants, in deſpair, applied to the Marquis de Croix, viceroy of Mexico, for ſuch a body of troops as might enable them to drive thoſe formidable invaders from their places of retreat in the mountains. But the treaſury of Mexico was ſo much exhauſted by the vaſt ſums drawn from it, in order to ſupport the late war againſt Great Britain, that the viceroy could afford them no aid. The reſpect due to his virtues, accompliſhed what his official power could not effect. He prevailed with the merchants to advance about two hundred thouſand peſos for defraying the expence of the expedition. The war was conducted by an officer of abilities; and after being protracted for three years, chiefly by the difficulty of purſuing the fugitives over mountains and through defiles which were almoſt impaſſable, it terminated in the year 1771, in the final ſubmiſſion of the tribes, which had been ſo long the object of terror to the two provinces. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Spaniards marched through countries into which they ſeem not to have penetrated before that time, and diſcovered mines of ſuch value, as was aſtoniſhing even to men acquainted with the riches contained in the mountains of the New World. At Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora, they entered a plain of fourteen leagues in extent, in which they found gold in grains, at the

A recent and remarkable diſcovery.

the depth of only ſixteen inches, of ſuch a ſize, that ſome of them weighed nine marks, and in ſuch quantities, that in a ſhort time, with a few labourers, they collected a thouſand marks of gold in grains, even without taking time to waſh the earth that had been dug, which appeared to be ſo rich, that perſons of ſkill computed that it might yield what would be equal in value to a million of peſos. Before the end of the year 1771, above two thouſand perſons were ſettled in Cineguilla, under the government of proper magiſtrates, and the inſpection of ſeveral eccleſiaſtics. As ſeveral other mines, not inferior in riches to that of Cineguilla, have been diſcovered, both in Sonora and Cinaloa *, it is probable that theſe neglected and thinly inhabited provinces, may ſoon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spaniſh empire in America.

Probable effects of this.

THE peninſula of California on the other ſide of the Vermilion ſea, ſeems to have been leſs known to the ancient Mexicans, than the provinces which I have mentioned. It was diſcovered by Cortes in the year 1536 (See Book V.) During a long period it continued to be ſo little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in moſt charts it was repreſented as an iſland, not as a peninſula †. Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from its ſituation, muſt be very deſirable; the Spaniards have made ſmall progreſs in peopling it. Towards the cloſe of the laſt century, the Jeſuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and in civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it as complete as that which they poſſeſſed in their miſſions in Paraguay, and

California, its ſtate;

* See NOTE LXV. † See NOTE LXVI.

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and they laboured to introduce into it the ſame policy, and to govern the natives by the ſame maxims. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealouſy of their deſigns and operations, they ſeem ſtudiouſly to have depreciated the country, by repreſenting the climate as ſo diſagreeable and unwholeſome, and the ſoil as ſo barren, that nothing but their zealous deſire of converting the natives, conld have induced them to ſettle there *. Several public-ſpirited-citizens endeavoured to undeceive their ſovereigns, and to give them a better view of California; but in vain. At length, on the expulſion of the Jeſuits from the Spaniſh dominions, the court of Madrid, as prone at that juncture to ſuſpect the purity of the Order's intentions, as formerly to confide in them with implicit truſt, appointed Don Joſeph Galvez, whoſe abilities have ſince raiſed him to the high rank of miniſter for the Indies, to viſit that peninſula. His account of the country was favourable; he found the pearl fiſhery on its coaſts to be valuable, and diſcovered mines of gold of a very promiſing appearance †. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable, that if the population of theſe provinces ſhall increaſe in the manner which I have ſuppoſed, California may, by degrees, receive from them ſuch a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the deſolate and uſeleſs diſtricts of the Spaniſh empire.

and probability of its improveing.

Yucatan and Honduras.

On the eaſt of Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras are comprehended in the government of New Spain, though anciently they can hardly be ſaid to have formed a part of the Mexican empire. Theſe large provinces, ſtretching from the Bay of Campeachy beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, do not, like

* Venegas Hiſt. of California, i. 26.
† Lorenzano, 349, 350.

like the other territories of Spain in the New World, derive their value either from the fertility of their ſoil, or the richneſs of their mines, but they yield in greater abundance, than any part of America, the logwood tree, which, in dying ſome colours, is ſo far preferable to any other material, that the conſumption of it in Europe is conſiderable, and it has become an article in commerce of great value. During a long period, no European nation intruded upon the Spaniards in thoſe provinces, or attempted to obtain any ſhare in this branch of trade. But after the conqueſt of Jamaica by the Engliſh, it ſoon appeared what a formidable rival was now ſeated in the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh territories. One of the firſt objects that tempted the Engliſh, was the great profit ariſing from the logwood trade, and the facility of wreſting ſome portion of it from the Spaniards. Some adventurers from Jamaica made the firſt attempt at Cape Catoche, the ſouth-eaſt promontory of Yucatan, and by cutting logwood there, carried on a gainful traffic. When moſt of the trees near the coaſt in that place were felled, they removed to the iſland of Triſt, in the Bay of Campeachy; and in latter times, their principal ſtation has been in the Bay of Honduras. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroachment, endeavoured by negociation, remonſtrances, and open force, to prevent the Engliſh from obtaining any footing on that part of the American continent. But after ſtruggling againſt it for more than a century, the diſaſters of laſt war extorted from the court of Madrid a reluctant conſent to tolerate this ſettlement of foreigners in the heart of its territories *. The pain which this humbling conceſſion occaſioned, ſeems to have ſuggeſted a method of rendering it of little conſequence, more

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Their decline,

* Treaty of Paris, Art. xviii.

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more effectual than all the efforts of negociation or violence. The logwood produced on the weſt coaſt of Yucatan, where the ſoil is drier, is in quality far ſuperior to that which grows on marſhy grounds where the Engliſh are ſettled. By encouraging the cutting of this, and permitting the importation of it into Spain without paying any duty *, ſuch vigour has been given to this declining branch of commerce, and the logwood which the Engliſh bring to market has ſunk ſo much in value, that their trade to the Bay of Honduras has gradually declined † ſince it obtained a legal ſanction; and, it is probable, will ſoon be finally abandoned. In that event, the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras will become poſſeſſions of conſiderable importance to Spain.

and revival.

Coſta Rica and Veragua.

STILL farther eaſt than Honduras lie the two provinces of Coſta Rica and Veragua, which likewiſe belong to the vice-royalty of New Spain; but both have been ſo much neglected by the Spaniards, and are apparently of ſuch ſmall value, that they merit no particular attention.

Chili.

THE moſt important province depending on the vice-royalty of Peru, is Chili. The Incas had eſtabliſhed their dominion in ſome of its ſouthern diſtricts; but in the greater part of the country, its gallant and high-ſpirited inhabitants maintained their independence. The Spaniards, allured by the fame of its opulence, early attempted the conqueſt of it under Diego Almagro; and after his death, Pedro de Valdivia reſumed the deſign. Both met with fierce oppoſition. The former relinquiſhed the enterprize in the manner which I have mentioned ‡. The latter after having

* Real Cedula, Campomanes, iii. 145.
† See NOTE LXVII. ‡ Book vi.

ing given many diſplays, both of courage and military ſkill, was cut off with a conſiderable body of troops under his command. Franciſco de Villagra, his lieutenant, by his ſpirited conduct, checked the natives in their career, and ſaved the remainder of the Spaniards from deſtruction. By degrees, all the champaign country along the coaſt was ſubjected to the Spaniſh dominion. The mountainous country is ſtill poſſeſſed by the Puelches, Araucos, and other tribes of its original inhabitants, formidable neighbours to the Spaniards; with whom, during the courſe of two centuries, they have been obliged to maintain perpetual hoſtility, ſuſpended only by a few intervals of inſecure peace.

Excellence of its climate and ſoil.

THAT part of Chili then, which may properly be deemed a Spaniſh province, is a narrow diſtrict, extending along the coaſt from the deſert of Atacamas to the iſland of Chiloe, above nine hundred miles. Its climate is the moſt delicious of the New World, and is hardly equalled by that of any region on the face of the earth. Though bordering on the Torrid Zone, it never feels the extremity of heat, being ſcreened on the eaſt by the Andes, and refreſhed from the weſt by cooling ſea-breezes. The temperature of the air is ſo mild and equable, that the Spaniards give it the preference to that of the ſouthern provinces in their native country. The fertility of the ſoil correſponds with the benignity of the climate, and is wonderfully accommodated to European productions. The moſt valuable of theſe, corn, wine and oil, abound in Chili, as if they had been native to the country. All the fruits imported from Europe attain to full maturity there. The animals of our hemiſphere not only multiply, but improve in this delightful region. The horned cattle are of larger ſize than thoſe

of

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of Spain. Its breed of horſes ſurpaſſes, both in beauty and in ſpirit, the famous Andaluſian race, from which they ſprang. Nor has nature exhauſted her bounty on the ſurface of the earth; ſhe has ſtored its bowels with riches. Valuable mines of gold, of ſilver, of copper, and of lead, have been diſcovered in various parts of it.

Cauſe of its being neglected by the Spaniards.

A COUNTRY diſtinguiſhed by ſo many bleſſings, we may be apt to conclude, would early become a favourite ſtation of the Spaniards, and muſt have been cultivated with peculiar predilection and care. Inſtead of this, a great part of it remains unoccupied. In all this extent of country, there are not above eighty thouſand white inhabitants, and about three times that number of negroes and people of a mixed race. The moſt fertile ſoil in America lies uncultivated, and ſome of its moſt promiſing mines remain unwrought. Strange as this neglect of the Spaniards to avail themſelves of advantages, which ſeemed to court their acceptance, may appear, the cauſes of it can be traced. The only intercourſe of Spain with its colonies in the South Sea, was carried on during two centuries by the annual fleet to Porto-bello. All the produce of the colonies, were ſhipped in the ports of Callao, or Arica in Peru, for Panama, and carried from thence acroſs the iſthmus. All the commodities which they received from the mother-country, were conveyed from Panama to the ſame harbours. Thus both the exports and imports of Chili paſſed through the hands of the merchants of Peru. Theſe had of courſe a profit on each; and in both tranſactions the Chileſe felt their own ſubordination; and having no direct intercourſe with the parent ſtate, they depended upon another province for the diſpoſal of their productions, as well as for the ſupply of their wants. Under ſuch diſcouragements, population

tion could not increaſe, and induſtry was deſtitute of one chief incitemeat. But now that Spain, from motives which I ſhall mention hereafter, has adopted a new ſyſtem, and carries on her commerce with the colonies in the South Sea, by ſhips which go round Cape Horn, a direct intercourſe is opened between Chili and the Mother-country. The gold, the ſilver, and the other commodities of the province will be exchanged in its own harbours for the manufactures of Europe. Chili may ſpeedily riſe into that importance among the Spaniſh ſettlements to which it is entitled by its natural advantages. It may become the granary of Peru, and the other provinces along the Pacific Ocean; it may ſupply them with wine, with cattle, with horſes, with hemp, and many other articles for which they now depend upon Europe. Though the new ſyſtem has been eſtabliſhed only a few years, thoſe effects of it begin already to be obſerved *. If it ſhall be adhered to with any ſteadineſs for half a century, one may venture to foretell, that population, induſtry and opulence will advance in this province with rapid progreſs.

Proſpect of its improvement.

To the eaſt of the Andes, the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata, border on Chili, and like it were dependent on the vice-royalty of Peru. Theſe regions of immenſe extent ſtretch in length from north to ſouth above thirteen hundred miles, and in breadth more than a thouſand. This country, which is larger than moſt European kingdoms, naturally forms itſelf into two great diviſions, one on the north, and the other on the ſouth of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the famous miſſions of the Jeſuits, and ſeveral other diſtricts. But as diſputes have long ſubſiſted between the courts of Spain and

Provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata.

Northern and ſouthern diviſion.

* Campomanes, ii. 157.

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and Portugal, concerning its boundaries, which, it is probable, will be ſoon finally aſcertained, either amicably, or by the deciſion of the ſword, I chuſe to reſerve my account of this northern diviſion, until I enter upon the hiſtory of Portugueſe America, with which it is intimately connected; and, in relating it, I ſhall be able from authentic materials, ſupplied both by Spain and Portugal, to give a full and accurate deſcription of the operations and views of the Jeſuits, in rearing that ſingular fabric of policy in America, which has drawn ſo much attention, and has been ſo imperfectly underſtood. The latter diviſion of the province contains the governments of Tucuman and Buenos-Ayres, and to theſe I ſhall at preſent confine my obſervations.

View of the latter.

THE Spaniards entered this part of America by the river De la Plata, and though a ſucceſſion of cruel diſaſters befell them in their early attempts to eſtabliſh their dominion there, they were encouraged to perſiſt in the deſign, at firſt by the hopes of diſcovering mines in the interior country, and afterwards by the neceſſity of occupying it, in order to prevent any other nation from ſettling there, and penetrating by this route into their rich poſſeſſions in Peru. But except Buenos-Ayres, they have made no ſettlement of any conſequence in all the vaſt ſpace which I have mentioned. There are, indeed, ſcattered over it, a few places on which they have beſtowed the name of towns, and to which they have endeavoured to add ſome dignity, by erecting them into biſhopricks; but they are no better than paltry villages, each with two or three hundred inhabitants. One circumſtance, however, which was not originally foreſeen, has contributed to render this diſtrict, though thinly peopled, of conſiderable importance. The province of Tucuman, together with the country to the ſouth of the Plata, inſtead of being

being covered with wood like other parts of America, forms one vaſt open plain, almoſt without a tree. The ſoil is a deep fertile mold, watered by many ſtreams deſcending from the Andes, and clothed in perpetual verdure. In this rich paſturage, the horſes and cattle imported by the Spaniards from Europe have multiplied to a degree which almoſt exceeds belief. This has enabled the inhabitants not only to open a lucrative trade with Peru, by ſupplying it with cattle, horſes, and mules, but to carry on a commerce no leſs beneficial, by the exportation of hides to Europe. From both the colony has derived great advantages. But its commodious ſituation for carrying on contraband trade, has been the chief ſource of its proſperity. While the court of Madrid adhered to its ancient ſyſtem, with reſpect to its communication with America, the river De la Plata lay ſo much out of the courſe of Spaniſh navigation, that interlopers, almoſt without any riſque of either being obſerved or obſtructed, could pour in European manufactures in ſuch quantities, that they not only ſupplied the wants of the colony, but were conveyed into all the eaſtern diſtricts of Peru. When the Portugueſe in Braſil extended their ſettlements to the banks of Rio de la Plata, a new channel was opened, by which prohibited commodities flowed into the Spaniſh territories, with ſtill more facility, and in greater abundance. This illegal traffic, however detrimental to the parent ſtate, contributed to the increaſe of the ſettlement, which had the immediate benefit of it, and Buenos Ayres became gradually a populous and opulent town. What may be the effect of the alteration lately made in the government of this colony, the nature of which ſhall be deſcribed in the ſubſequent Book, cannot hitherto be known.

BOOK VII.

Other territories of Spain.

ALL the other territories of Spain in the New World, the islands excepted, of whose discovery and reduction I have formerly given an account, are comprehended under two great divisions; the former denominated the kingdom Tierra Firme, the provinces of which stretch along the Atlantic, from the eastern frontier of New Spain to the mouth of the Orinoco; the latter, the New Kingdom of Granada, situated in the interior country. With a short view of these I shall close this part of my work.

Darien.

To the east of Veragua, the last province subject to the viceroy of Mexico, lies the isthmus of Darien. Though it was in this part of the continent, that the Spaniards first began to plant colonies, they have made no considerable progress in peopling it. As the country is extremely mountainous, deluged with rain during a good part of the year, remarkably unhealthful, and contains no mines of great value, they would probably have abandoned it altogether, if they had not been allured to continue by the excellence of the harbour of Porto-bello on the one sea, and that of Panama on the other. These have been called the keys to the communication between the north and south sea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies. In consequence of this advantage, Panama has become a considerable and thriving town. The peculiar noxiousness of its climate has prevented Porto-bello from increasing in the same proportion. As the intercourse with the settlements in the Pacific Ocean, is now carried on by another channel, it is probable that both Porto-bello and Panama will decline, when no longer nourished and enriched by that commerce, to which they were indebted for their prosperity, and even their existence.

THE

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Carthagena and Santa Martha.

THE provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha, ſtretch to the eaſtward of the iſthmus of Darien. The country ſtill continues mountainous, but its vallies begin to expand, are well watered, and extremely fertile. Pedro de Heredia ſubjected this part of America to the crown of Spain, about the year 1532. It is thinly peopled, and of courſe ill cultivated. It produces, however, a variety of valuable drugs, and ſome precious ſtones, particularly emeralds. But its chief importance is derived from the harbour of Carthagena, the ſafeſt and beſt fortified of any in the American dominions of Spain. In a ſituation ſo favourable, commerce ſoon began to flouriſh. As early as the year 1544, it ſeems to have been a town of ſome note. But when Carthagena was choſen as the port in which the galeons ſhould firſt begin to trade on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were directed to return, in order to prepare for their voyage homeward, the commerce of its inhabitants was ſo much favoured by this arrangement, that it ſoon became one of the moſt populous, opulent, and beautiful cities in America. There is, however, reaſon to apprehend, that it has reached its higheſt point of exaltation, and that it will be ſo far affected by the change in the Spaniſh ſyſtem of trade with America, which has withdrawn from it the deſirable viſits of the galeons, as to feel at leaſt a temporary decline. But the wealth now collected there, muſt find or create employment for itſelf, and may be turned with advantage into ſome new channel. Its harbour is ſo ſafe, and ſo conveniently ſituated for receiving commodities from Europe, its merchants have been ſo long accuſtomed to convey theſe into all the adjacent provinces, that it is probable they will ſtill retain this branch of trade, and Carthagena continue to be a city of great importance.

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Venezuela.

THE province contiguous to Santa Martha on the eaſt, was firſt viſited by Alonſo de Ojeda, in the year 1499 *; and the Spaniards, on their landing there, having obſerved ſome huts in an Indian village built upon piles, in order to raiſe them above the ſtagnated water which covered the plain, were led to beſtow upon it the name of Venezuela, or little Venice, by their uſual propenſity to find a reſemblance, between what they diſcovered in America, and the objects which were familiar to them in Europe. They made ſome attempts to ſettle there, but with little ſucceſs. The final reduction of the province was accompliſhed by means very different from thoſe to which Spain was indebted for its other acquiſitions in the New World. The ambition of Charles V. often engaged him in operations of ſuch variety and extent, that his revenues were not ſufficient to defray the expence of carrying them into execution. Among other expedients for ſupplying the deficiency of his funds, he had borrowed large ſums from the Velſers of Augſburgh, the moſt opulent merchants at that time in Europe. By way of retribution for theſe, or in hopes, perhaps, of obtaining a new loan, he beſtowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief of the crown of Caſtile, on condition that within a limited time they ſhould render themſelves maſters of the country, and eſtabliſh a colony there. Under the direction of ſuch perſons, it might have been expected, that a ſettlement would have been eſtabliſhed on maxims very different from thoſe of the Spaniards, and better calculated to encourage ſuch uſeful induſtry, as they might have known to be the only certain ſource of proſperity and opulence. But unfortunately they committed the execution of their plan, to ſome of thoſe ſoldiers of

* Book II.

of fortune with which Germany abounded in the ſixteenth century. Theſe adventurers, impatient to amaſs riches, that they might ſpeedily abandon a ſtation which they ſoon diſcovered to be very uncomfortable, inſtead of planting a colony that might have cultivated and improved the country, wandered from diſtrict to diſtrict in ſearch of mines, plundering the natives with unfeeling rapacity, or oppreſſing them by the impoſition of intolerable taſks. In the courſe of a few years, their avarice and exactions, in compariſon with which thoſe of the Spaniards were moderate, deſolated the province ſo completely, that it could hardly afford them ſubſiſtence, and the Velſers relinquiſhed a property, from which the inconſiderate conduct of their agents left them no hope of ever deriving any advantage *. When the wretched remainder of the Germans deſerted Venezuela, the Spaniards again took poſſeſſion of it; but, notwithſtanding many natural advantages, it is one of their moſt languiſhing and unproductive ſettlements.

Caraccas and Cumana.

THE provinces of Caraccas and Cumana are the laſt of the Spaniſh territories on this coaſt; but in relating the origin and operations of the mercantile company, in which an excluſive right of trade with them has been veſted, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to conſider their ſtate and productions.

New kingdom of Granada.

THE New Kingdom of Granada is entirely an inland country of vaſt extent. This important addition was made to the dominions of Spain about the year 1536, by Sebaſtian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Queſada, two of the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed officers employed in

* Oviedo y Bagnos Hiſt. de Venezuela, p. 11, &c.

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in the conqueſt of America. The former, who commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the ſouth; the latter made his invaſion from Santa Martha on the north. As the original inhabitants of this region were farther advanced in improvement, than any people in America but the Mexicans and Peruvians *, they defended themſelves with great reſolution and good conduct. The abilities and perſeverance of Benalcazar and Queſada ſurmounted all oppoſition, though not without encountering many dangers, and reduced the country into the form of a Spaniſh province.

THE New Kingdom of Granada is ſo far elevated above the level of the ſea, that though it approaches almoſt to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. The fertility of its vallies is not inferior to that of the richeſt diſtricts in America, and its higher grounds yield gold and precious ſtones of various kinds. It is not by digging into the bowels of the earth that this gold is found; it is mingled with the ſoil near the ſurface, and ſeparated from it by repeated waſhing with water. This operation is carried on wholly by negroe ſlaves; for though the chill ſubterranean air has been diſcovered, by experience, to be ſo fatal to them, that they cannot be employed in the deep ſilver mines, they are more capable of performing the other ſpecies of labour than Indians. As the natives in the New Kingdom of Granada are exempt from that ſervice, which has waſted their race ſo rapidly in other parts of America, it is remarkably populous. Some diſtricts yield gold with a profuſion no leſs wonderful than that in the vale of Cineguilla, which I have formerly mentioned, and it is often found in *pepitas*, or grains, which

* Book IV.

which manifeſt the abundance in which it is produced. On a riſing ground near Pamplona, ſingle labourers have collected in a day what was equal in value to a thouſand peſos *. A late governor of Santa Fe brought with him to Spain a lump of virgin gold, eſtimated to be worth ſeven hundred and forty pounds ſterling. But without founding any calculation on what is rare and extraordinary, the value of the gold uſually collected in this country, particularly in the provinces of Popayan and Choco, is of conſiderable amount. Its towns are populous and flouriſhing. The number of inhabitants in almoſt every part of the country daily increaſes. Cultivation and induſtry of various kinds begin to be encouraged, and to proſper. A conſiderable trade is carried on with Carthagena, the produce of the mines, and other commodities, being conveyed down the great river of St. Magdalen to that city. On another quarter, the New Kingdom of Granada has a communication with the Atlantic by the river Orinoco; but the country which ſtretches along its banks towards the eaſt, is little known, and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards.

* Piedrahita Hiſt. del N. Reyno, p. 481. MS. penes me.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

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BOOK VIII.

View of the policy and trade of the Spaniſh colonies.

AFTER tracing the progreſs of the Spaniards in their diſcoveries and conqueſts during more than half a century, I have conducted them to that period when their authority was eſtabliſhed over almoſt all the vaſt regions in the New World ſtill ſubject to their dominion. The effect of their ſettlements upon the countries of which they took poſſeſſion, the maxims which they adopted in forming their new colonies, the interior ſtructure and policy of theſe, together with the influence of their progreſſive improvement upon the parent ſtate, and the commercial intercourſe of nations, are the objects to which we now turn our attention, and they are no leſs intereſting than important.

Depopulation of America the firſt effect of them.

THE firſt viſible conſequence of the eſtabliſhments made by the Spaniards in America, was the diminution

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diminution of the ancient inhabitants, to a degree equally aſtoniſhing and deplorable. I have already, on different occaſions, mentioned the diſaſtrous influence under which the connection of the Americans with the people of our hemiſphere commenced, both in the iſlands, and in ſeveral parts of the continent, and have touched upon various cauſes of their rapid conſumption. Whereever the inhabitants of America had reſolution to take arms in defence of their liberty and rights, many periſhed in the unequal conteſt, and were cut off by their fierce invaders. But the greateſt deſolation followed after the ſword was ſheathed, and the conquerors were ſettled in tranquillity.

Cauſes of this in the iſlands and ſome parts of the continent.

It was in the iſlands, and in thoſe provinces of the continent which ſtretch from the Gulf of Trinidad to the confines of Mexico, that the fatal effects of the Spaniſh dominion were firſt and moſt ſenſibly felt. All thoſe were occupied either by wandering tribes of hunters, or by ſuch as had made but ſmall progreſs in cultivation and induſtry. When they were compelled by their new maſters to take up a fixed reſidence, and to apply to regular labour; when taſks were impoſed upon them diſproportioned to their ſtrength, and were exacted with unrelenting ſeverity; they poſſeſſed not vigour either of mind or of body to ſuſtain this unuſual load of oppreſſion. Dejection and deſpair drove many to end their lives by violence. Fatigue and famine deſtroyed more. In all thoſe extenſive regions, the original race of inhabitants waſted away; in ſome it was totally extinguiſhed. In Mexico, where a powerful and martial people diſtinguiſhed their oppoſition to the Spaniards, by efforts of courage worthy of a better fate, great numbers fell in the field; and there, as well as in Peru, ſtill greater numbers periſhed under the hardſhips of attending the Spaniſh armies in their various expeditions and civil wars, worn

out

out with the inceſſant toil of carrying their bag- BOOK VIII.
gage, proviſions, and military ſtores.

In New Spain and Peru.

But neither the rage nor cruelty of the Spaniards were ſo deſtructive to the people of Mexico and Peru, as the inconſiderate policy with which they eſtabliſhed their new ſettlements. The former were temporary calamities, fatal to individuals; the latter was a permanent evil, which, with gradual conſumption, waſted the nation. When the provinces of Mexico and Peru were divided among the conquerors, each was eager to obtain a diſtrict, from which he might expect an inſtantaneous recompence for all his ſervices. Bold adventurers, accuſtomed to the careleſſneſs and diſſipation of a military life, had neither induſtry to carry on any plan of regular cultivation, nor patience to wait for its ſlow, but certain returns. Inſtead of ſettling in the vallies occupied by the natives, where the fertility of the ſoil would have amply rewarded the diligence of the planter, they choſe to fix their ſtations in ſome of the mountainous regions, frequent both in New Spain and in Peru. To ſearch for mines of gold and ſilver, was the chief object of their activity. The vaſt proſpects which this opens, and the alluring hopes which it continually preſents, correſpond wonderfully with the ſpirit of enterprize and adventure that animated the firſt emigrants to America in every part of their conduct. In order to puſh forward thoſe favourite projects, ſo many hands were wanted, that the ſervice of the natives became indiſpenſably requiſite. They were, accordingly, compelled to abandon their ancient habitations in the plains, and driven in crowds to the mountains. This ſudden tranſition from the ſultry climate of the vallies, to the chill penetrating air peculiar to high lands in the torrid zone; the fatigue

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tigue of exorbitant labour, ſcanty or unwholeſome nouriſhment, and the deſpondency occaſioned by a ſpecies of oppreſſion to which they were not accuſtomed, and of which they ſaw no end, affected them nearly as much as their leſs induſtrious countrymen in the iſlands. They ſunk under the united preſſure of thoſe calamities, and melted away with almoſt equal rapidity *. In conſequence of this, together with the introduction of the ſmall-pox, a malady unknown in America, and extremely fatal to the natives †, the number of people both in New Spain and Peru was ſo much reduced, that in a few years the accounts of their ancient population appeared almoſt incredible ‡.

Not the reſult of any ſyſtem of policy.

SUCH are the moſt conſiderable events and cauſes, which, by their combined operation, contributed to depopulate America. Without attending to theſe, many authors, aſtoniſhed at the ſuddenneſs of the deſolation, have aſcribed this unexampled event to a ſcheme of policy no leſs profound than atrocious. The Spaniards, as they pretend, conſcious of their own inability to occupy the vaſt regions which they had diſcovered, and foreſeeing the impoſſibility of maintaining their authority over a people infinitely ſuperior to themſelves in number, in order to preſerve America, reſolved to exterminate the inhabitants, and by converting it into a deſart, endeavoured to ſecure their own dominion over it §. But nations ſeldom extend their views to objects ſo remote, or lay their plans ſo deep; and, for the honour of humanity, we may obſerve, that no nation ever deliberately formed ſuch an execrable ſcheme. The Spaniſh monarchs,

* Torquemada, i. 613. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. x. c. 4.

† B. Diaz, c. 124. Ulloa Entreten, 206.

‡ Torquem, 615. 642, 643. See NOTE LXVIII.

§ See NOTE LXIX.

monarchs, far from acting upon any ſuch ſyſtem of deſtruction, were uniformly ſolicitous for the preſervation of their new ſubjects. With Iſabella, zeal for propagating the chriſtian faith, and the deſire of communicating the knowledge of truth, and the conſolations of religion, to people deſtitute of ſpiritual light, were more than oſtenſible motives for encouraging Columbus to attempt his diſcoveries. Upon his ſucceſs, ſhe endeavoured to fulfil her pious purpoſe, and manifeſted the moſt tender concern to ſecure not only religious inſtruction, but mild treatment, to that inoffenſive race of men ſubjected to her crown *. Her ſucceſſors adopted the ſame ideas; and, on many occaſions, which I have mentioned, their authority was interpoſed in the moſt vigorous exertions, to protect the people of America from the oppreſſion of their Spaniſh ſubjects. Their regulations for this purpoſe were numerous, and often repeated. They were framed with wiſdom, and dictated by humanity. After their poſſeſſions in the New World became ſo extenſive, as might have excited ſome apprehenſions of difficulty in retaining their dominion over them, the ſpirit of their regulations was as mild as when their ſettlements were confined to the iſlands alone. Their ſolicitude to protect the Indians ſeems rather to have augmented as their acquiſitions increaſed; and from ardour to accompliſh this, they enacted, and endeavoured to enforce the execution of laws, which excited a formidable rebellion in one of their colonies, and ſpread alarm and diſaffection through all the reſt. But the avarice of individuals was too violent to be controuled by the authority of laws. Rapacious and daring adventurers, far removed from the ſeat of government, little accuſtomed

* See NOTE LXX.

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customed to the restraints of military discipline while in service, and still less disposed to respect the feeble jurisdiction of civil power in an infant colony, despised or eluded every regulation that set bounds to their exactions and tyranny. The parent state, with persevering attention, issued edicts to prevent the oppression of the Indians; the colonists, regardless of these, or trusting to their distance for impunity, continued to consider, and treat them as slaves. The governors themselves, and other officers employed in the colonies, several of whom were as indigent and rapacious as the adventurers over whom they presided, were too apt to adopt their contemptuous ideas of the conquered people; and, instead of checking, encouraged or connived at their excesses. The desolation of the New World should not then be charged on the court of Spain, or be considered as the effect of any system of policy adopted there. It ought to be imputed wholly to the conquerors and first planters of America, who, by measures no less inconsiderate than unjust, counteracted the edicts of their sovereign, and have brought disgrace upon their country.

nor the effect of religion.

With still greater injustice, have many authors represented the intolerating spirit of the Roman Catholic religion, as the cause of exterminating the Americans, and have accused the Spanish ecclesiastics of animating their countrymen to the slaughter of that innocent people, as idolaters and enemies of God. But the first missionaries who visited America, though weak and illiterate, were pious men. They early espoused the defence of the natives, and vindicated their character from the aspersions of their conquerors, who, describing them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, or of comprehending the doctrines of religion, contended, that they were a sub-

a ſubordinate race of men, on whom the hand of nature had ſet the mark of ſervitude. From the accounts which I have given of the humane and perſevering zeal of the Spaniſh miſſionaries, in protecting the helpleſs flock committed to their charge, they appear in a light which reflects luſtre upon their function. They were miniſters of peace, who endeavoured to wreſt the rod from the hands of oppreſſors. To their powerful interpoſition, the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigour of their fate. The clergy in the Spaniſh ſettlements, regular as well as ſecular, are ſtill conſidered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourſe under the hardſhips and exactions to which they are too often expoſed *. BOOK VIII.

The number of Indians ſtill remaining.

BUT, notwithſtanding the rapid depopulation of America, a very conſiderable number of the native race ſtill remains both in Mexico and Peru, eſpecially in thoſe parts which were not expoſed to the firſt fury of the Spaniſh arms, or deſolated by the firſt efforts of their induſtry, ſtill more ruinous. In Guatimala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and the other delightful provinces of the Mexican empire that ſtretch along the ſouth-ſea, the race of Indians is ſtill numerous. Their ſettlements in ſome places are ſo populous, as to merit the name of cities †. In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are at leaſt two millions of Indians; a pitiful remnant, indeed, of its ancient population, but ſuch as ſtill forms a body of people ſuperior in number to that of all the other inhabitants of this vaſt country ‡. In Peru ſeveral diſtricts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almoſt entirely by Indians. In other provinces, they are mingled with

* See NOTE LXXI. † See NOTE LXXII.
‡ See NOTE LXXIII.

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with the Spaniards, and in many of their ſettlements practiſe the mechanic arts, and fill moſt of the inferior ſtations in ſociety. As the inhabitants, both of Mexico and Peru were accuſtomed to a fixed reſidence, and to ſome degree of regular induſtry, leſs violence was requiſite in bringing them to ſome conformity with the European modes of civil life. But wherever the Spaniards ſettled among the ſavage tribes of America, their attempts to incorporate with them have been always fruitleſs, and often fatal to the natives. Impatient of reſtraint, and diſdaining labour as a mark of ſervility, they either abandoned their original ſeats, and ſought for independance in mountains and foreſts inacceſſible to their oppreſſors, or periſhed when reduced to a ſtate repugnant to their ancient ideas and habits. In the diſtricts adjacent to Carthagena, to Panama, and to Buenos-Ayres, the deſolation is more general than even in thoſe parts of Mexico and Peru, of which the Spaniards have taken moſt full poſſeſſion.

General idea of the policy of Spain in its colonies.

But the eſtabliſhments of the Spaniards in the New World, though fatal to its ancient inhabitants, were made at a period when that monarchy was capable of forming them to beſt advantage. By the union of all its petty kingdoms, Spain was become a powerful ſtate, equal to ſo great an undertaking. Its monarchs, having extended their prerogative far beyond the limits which once circumſcribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, were hardly ſubject to controul, either in concerting, or in executing their meaſures. In every wide extended empire, the form of government muſt be ſimple, and the authority of the ſovereign abſolute; that his reſolutions may be taken with promptitude, and pervade the whole with undiminiſhed force. Such was the power of the Spaniſh monarchs,

monarchs, when they were called to deliberate concerning the mode of eſtabliſhing their dominion over the moſt remote provinces, that had ever been ſubjected to any European ſtate. In this deliberation, they felt themſelves under no conſtitutional reſtraint, and that as independent maſters of their own reſolves, they might iſſue the edicts requiſite for modelling the government of the new colonies, by a mere act of prerogative.

Early interpoſition of the regal authority.

THIS early interpoſition of the Spaniſh crown, in order to regulate the policy and trade of its colonies, is a peculiarity which diſtinguiſhes their progreſs from that of the colonies of any other European nation. When the Portugueſe, the Engliſh, and French, took poſſeſſion of thoſe regions in America which they now occupy, the advantages which they promiſed to yield were ſo remote and uncertain, that they were ſuffered to ſtruggle through a hard infancy, almoſt without guidance or protection from the parent ſtate. But gold and ſilver, the firſt productions of the Spaniſh ſettlements in the New World, were more alluring, and immediately attracted the attention of their monarchs. Though they had contributed little to the diſcovery, and almoſt nothing to the conqueſt of the New World, they inſtantly aſſumed the function of its legiſlators; and having acquired a ſpecies of dominion formerly unknown, they formed a plan for exerciſing it, to which nothing ſimilar occurs in the hiſtory of human affairs.

All power and property veſted in the crown.

THE fundamental maxim of Spaniſh juriſprudence with reſpect to America, is to conſider what has been acquired there as veſted in the crown, rather than in the ſtate. By the bull of Alexander VI. on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its right, all the regions that had

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been, or ſhould be diſcovered, were beſtowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Iſabella. They and their ſucceſſors were uniformly held to be the univerſal proprietors of the vaſt territories, which the arms of their ſubjects conquered in the New World. From them, all grants of land there flowed, and to them they finally returned. The leaders who conducted the various expeditions, the governors who preſided over the different colonies, the officers of juſtice, and the miniſters of religion, were all appointed by their authority, and removable at their pleaſure. The people who compoſed infant ſettlements were intitled to no privileges independent of the ſovereign, or that ſerved as a barrier againſt the power of the crown. It is true, that when towns were built, and formed into bodies corporate, the citizens were permitted to elect their own magiſtrates, who governed by laws which the community enacted. Even in the moſt deſpotic ſtates, this feeble ſpark of liberty is not extinguiſhed. But in the cities of Spaniſh America, this juriſdiction is merely municipal, and is confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. In whatever relates to public government, and the general intereſt, the will of the ſovereign is law. No political power originates from the people. All centres in the crown, and in the officers of its nomination.

All the new dominions of Spain ſubjected to two viceroys.

When the conqueſts of the Spaniards in America were completed, their monarchs, in forming the plan of interior policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immenſe governments, one ſubject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The juriſdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern diviſion of the American continent. Under that of the latter,

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was comprehended whatever ſhe poſſeſſed in South America. This arrangement which, from the beginning, was attended with many inconveniencies, became intolerable when the remote provinces of each viceroyalty began to improve in induſtry and population. The people complained of their ſubjection to a ſuperior, whoſe place of reſidence was ſo diſtant, or ſo inacceſſible, as almoſt excluded them from any intercourſe with the ſeat of government. The authority of the viceroy over diſtricts ſo far removed from his own eye and obſervation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill-directed. As a remedy for thoſe evils, a third viceroyalty has been eſtabliſhed in the preſent century, at Santa Fé de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the juriſdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firme, and the province of Quito *. Thoſe viceroys not only repreſent the perſon of their ſovereign, but poſſeſs his regal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments, in their utmoſt extent. Like him they exerciſe ſupreme authority in every department of government, civil, military and criminal. They may preſide in every tribunal. They have the ſole right of nominating the perſons who hold many offices of the higheſt importance, and the occaſional privilege of ſupplying ſuch as are in the royal gift, until the ſucceſſor appointed by the king ſhall arrive. The external pomp of their government is ſuited to its real dignity and power. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horſe and foot guards, a houſehold regularly eſtabliſhed, numerous attendants, and enſigns of command, diſplaying ſuch magnificence, as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority †.

Their powers.

* Voy. de Ulloa, i. 23. 255.
† Ulloa, Voy. i. 432. Gage, 61.

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Courts of Audience.

But as the viceroys cannot discharge in person the functions of a supreme magistrate in every part of their extensive jurisdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals similar to those in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs in the various provinces and districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided, is committed to magistrates of various orders and denominations; some appointed by the king, others by the viceroy, but all subject to his command, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice is vested in tribunals, known by the name of *Audiences*, and formed upon the model of the court of Chancery in Spain. These are eleven in number, and dispense justice to as many districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided *. The number of judges in them is various, according to the extent and importance of their jurisdiction. The station of a judge in the court of Audience is no less honourable than lucrative, and is commonly filled by persons of such abilities and merit, as renders this tribunal extremely respectable. Both civil and criminal causes come under their cognizance, and for each peculiar judges are set apart.

Their jurisdiction.

Though it is only in the most despotic governments, that the sovereign exercises in person the formidable prerogative of administering justice to his subjects, and in absolving, or condemning, consults no law but what is deposited in his own breast; though in all the monarchies of Europe, judicial authority is committed to magistrates, whose decisions are regulated by known laws and established forms, the Spanish viceroys have often attempted to intrude themselves into the seat of justice, and with an ambition which their distance from the controul of a superior, rendered bold, have

* See NOTE LXXIV.

have aſpired at a power which their maſter does not venture to aſſume. In order to check an uſurpation which muſt have annihilated juſtice and ſecurity in the Spaniſh colonies, by ſubjecting the lives and property of all to the will of a ſingle man, the viceroys have been prohibited, in the moſt explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the courts of Audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice with reſpect to any point litigated before them *. In ſome particular caſes, in which any queſtion of civil right is involved, even the political regulations of the viceroy may be brought under the review of the court of Audience, which, in thoſe inſtances, may be deemed an intermediate power placed between him and the people, as a conſtitutional barrier to circumſcribe his juriſdiction. But as legal reſtraints on a perſon who repreſents the ſovereign, and is clothed with his authority, are little ſuited to the genius of Spaniſh policy; the heſitation and reſerve with which it confers this power on the courts of Audience, are remarkable. They may adviſe, they may remonſtrate, but in the event of a direct colliſion between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines muſt be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them, but to lay the matter before the king and the council of the Indies †. But to be intitled to remonſtrate, and inform againſt a perſon, before whom all others muſt be ſilent, and tamely ſubmit to his decrees, is a privilege which adds dignity to the courts of Audience. This is farther augmented by another circumſtance. Upon the death of a viceroy, without any proviſion of a ſucceſſor by the

* Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 35. 38 44. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 36. 37.

† Solorz. De jure Ind. lib. iv. c. 3. n. 40, 41. Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 36. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 34. Lib. v. tit. ix. l. 1.

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the king, the ſupreme power is veſted in the court of Audience reſident in the capital of the viceroyalty, and the ſenior judge, aſſiſted by his brethren exerciſes all the functions of the viceroy while the office continues vacant *. In matters that come under the cognizance of the Audiences, in the courſe of their ordinary juriſdiction, as courts of juſtice, their ſentences are final in every litigation concerning property of leſs value than ſix thouſand peſos; but when the ſubject in diſpute exceeds that ſum, their deciſions are ſubject to review, and may be carried by appeal before the royal council of the Indies †.

Council of the Indies.

In this council, one of the moſt conſiderable in the monarchy for dignity and power, is veſted the ſupreme government of all the Spaniſh dominions in America. It was firſt eſtabliſhed by Ferdinand, in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V. in the year 1524. Its

Its power.

juriſdiction extends to every department, eccleſiaſtical, civil, military, and commercial. All laws and ordinances relative to the government and police of the colonies originate there, and muſt be approved of by two-thirds of the members, before they are iſſued in the name of the king. All the officers, of which the nomination is reſerved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it each perſon employed in America, from the vicercy downwards, is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their ſervices, and inflicts the puniſhments due to their malverſations ‡. Before it, is laid whatever intelligence, either public or ſecret, is received from America, and every ſcheme of improving the adminiſtration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is ſubmitted

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* Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 57, &c.
† Recop. lib. v. tit. xiii. l. 1, &c.
‡ Recop. lib. ii. tit. ii. l. 1. 2, &c.

to its conſideration. From the firſt inſtitution of the council of the Indies, it has been the conſtant object of the catholic monarchs, to maintain its authority, and to make ſuch additions from time to time, both to its power and its ſplendor, as might render it formidable to all their ſubjects in the New World. Whatever degree of public order and virtue ſtill remains in that country, where ſo many circumſtances conſpire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may be aſcribed in a great meaſure to the wiſe regulations and vigilant inſpection of this reſpectable tribunal *.

Caſa de Contratacion.

As the king is ſuppoſed to be always preſent in his council of the Indies, its meetings are held in the place where he reſides. Another tribunal has been inſtituted, in order to regulate ſuch commercial affairs, as required the immediate and perſonal inſpection of thoſe appointed to ſuperintend them. This is called *Caſa de la Contratacion*, or the houſe of trade, and was eſtabliſhed in Seville, to whoſe port commerce with the New World was confined, as early as the year 1501. It may be conſidered both as a board of trade, and as a court of judicature. In the former capacity, it takes cognizance of whatever relates to the intercourſe of Spain with America, it regulates what commodities ſhould be exported thither, and has the inſpection of ſuch as are received in return. It decides concerning the departure of the fleets for the Weſt Indies, the freight, and burthen of the ſhips, their equipment, and deſtination. In the latter capacity, it judges with reſpect to every queſtion, civil or commercial, or criminal, ariſing in conſequence of the tranſactions of Spain with America; and in both theſe departments, its deciſions are

Its functions.

* Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. l. 12.

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are exempted from the review of any court but that of the council of the Indies *.

SUCH is the great outline of that ſyſtem of government, which Spain has eſtabliſhed in her American colonies. To enumerate the various ſubordinate boards and officers employed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, in collecting the public revenue, and in regulating the interior police of the country, to deſcribe their different functions, and to inquire into the mode and effect of their operations, would prove a detail no leſs intricate than minute and unintereſting.

First object, to ſecure an excluſive trade.

THE firſt object of the Spaniſh monarchs was to ſecure the productions of the colonies to the parent ſtate, by an abſolute prohibition of any intercourſe with foreign nations. They took poſſeſſion of America by right of conqueſt, and conſcious of the feebleneſs of their infant ſettlements, and aware of the difficulty in eſtabliſhing their dominion over ſuch vaſt regions, or of retaining ſo many reluctant nations under the yoke, they dreaded the intruſion of ſtrangers; they even ſhunned their inſpection, and endeavoured to keep them at a diſtance from their coaſts. This ſpirit of jealouſy and excluſion, which at firſt was natural, and perhaps neceſſary, augmented as their poſſeſſions in America extended, and the value of them came to be more fully underſtood. In conſequence of it, a ſyſtem of colonizing was introduced, to which there had hitherto been nothing ſimilar among mankind. In the ancient world, it was not uncommon to ſend forth colonies. But they were of two kinds only. They were either migrations, which ſerved to diſburden a ſtate of its ſuperfluous ſubjects, when they multiplied too faſt

* Recop. lib. ix. tit. i. Veitia Norte de la Contratacion, lib. i. c. 1.

faſt for the territory which they occupied: or they were military detachments ſtationed, as garriſons, in a conquered province. The colonies of ſome Greek republics, and the ſwarms of northern barbarians which ſettled in different parts of Europe, were of the firſt ſpecies. The Roman colonies were of the ſecond. In the former, the connection with the mother-country quickly ceaſed, and they became independent ſtates. In the latter, as the disjunction was not complete, the dependence continued. In their American ſettlements, the Spaniſh monarchs took what was peculiar to each, and ſtudied to unite them. By ſending colonies to regions ſo remote, by eſtabliſhing in each a form of interior policy and adminiſtration, under diſtinct governors, and with peculiar laws, they disjoined them from the mother-country. By retaining in their own hands the rights of legiſlation, as well as that of impoſing taxes, together with the power of nominating the perſons who filled every department, civil or military, they ſecured their dependence. Happily for Spain, the ſituation of her colonies was ſuch, as rendered it poſſible to reduce this new idea into practice. Almoſt all the countries which ſhe had diſcovered and occupied, lay within the tropics. The productions of that large portion of the globe, are different from thoſe of Europe, even in its moſt ſouthern provinces. The qualities of the climate and of the ſoil naturally turn the induſtry of thoſe who ſettle there into new channels. When the Spaniards firſt took poſſeſſion of their domains in America, the precious metals which they yielded, were the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themſelves almoſt wholly in rearing ſuch peculiar productions of the climate, as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother-country. Allured by vaſt

Regulations for that purpoſe.

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proſpects of immediate wealth, they diſdained to waſte their induſtry on what was leſs lucrative, but of ſuperior moment. In order to render it impoſſible to correct this error, and to prevent them from making any efforts that might interfere with thoſe of Spain, the eſtabliſhment of ſeveral ſpecies of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine, or olive, are prohibited in the colonies *, under ſevere penalties †. They muſt truſt entirely to the mother-country for the objects of primary neceſſity. Their clothes, their furniture, their inſtruments of labour, their luxuries, and even a conſiderable part of the proviſions which they conſume, were imported from Spain. During a great part of the ſixteenth century, Spain poſſeſſing an extenſive commerce and flouriſhing manufactures, could ſupply with eaſe the growing demands of her colonies, from her own ſtores. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for theſe. But all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spaniſh bottoms. No veſſel belonging to the colonies was ever permitted to carry the commodities of America to Europe. Even the commercial intercourſe of one colony with another, was either abſolutely prohibited, or limited by many jealous reſtrictions. All that America yields flows into the ports of Spain; all that it conſumes muſt iſſue from them. No foreigner can enter one of its colonies without expreſs permiſſion; no veſſel of any foreign nation is received into their harbours; and the pains of death, with confiſcation of moveables, are denounced againſt every inhabitant who preſume to trade with them ‡. Thus the colonies are kept in a ſtate of perpetual pupillage;

* See NOTE LXXV. † B. Ulloa Retab. des Manuf. &c. p. 206. ‡ Recopil, lib. ix. tit. xxvii. l. 1. 4. 7. &c.

pupillage; and by the introduction of this commercial dependence, a refinement in policy of which Spain ſet the firſt example to the European nations, the ſupremacy of the parent ſtate hath been maintained over remote colonies during two centuries and a half.

Slow progreſs of population from Europe.

SUCH are the capital maxims to which the Spaniſh monarchs ſeem to have attended in forming their new ſettlements in America. But they could not plant with the ſame rapidity that they had deſtroyed; and, from many concurring cauſes, their progreſs was extremely ſlow, in filling up the immenſe void which their devaſtations had occaſioned. As ſoon as the rage for diſcovery and adventure began to abate, the Spaniards opened their eyes to dangers and diſtreſſes, which at firſt they did not perceive, or had deſpiſed. The numerous hardſhips with which the members of infant colonies have to ſtruggle, the diſeaſes of unwholeſome climates, fatal to the conſtitution of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country, covered with foreſts, into culture; the want of hands neceſſary for labour in ſome provinces, and the ſlow reward of induſtry in all, unleſs where the accidental diſcovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils univerſally felt and magnified. Diſcouraged by the view of theſe, the ſpirit of migration was ſo much damped, that ſixty years after the diſcovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded fifteen thouſand *.

Diſcouraged by the ſtate of property.

THE mode in which property was diſtributed in the Spaniſh colonies, and the regulations eſtabliſhed with reſpect to the tranſmiſſion of it, whether

* See NOTE LXXVI.

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ther by deſcent, or by ſale, were extremely unfavourable to population. In order to promote a rapid increaſe of people in any new ſettlement, property in land ought to be divided into ſmall ſhares, and the alienation of it ſhould be rendered extremely eaſy *. But the rapaciouſneſs of the Spaniſh conquerors of the New World paid no regard to this fundamental maxim of policy; and, as they poſſeſſed power, which enabled them to gratify the utmoſt extravagance of their wiſhes, many of them ſeized diſtricts and provinces of vaſt extent, and held them as *encomiendas*. By degrees they obtained the privilege of converting a part of theſe into *Mayoraſgos*, a ſpecies of fief, introduced into the Spaniſh ſyſtem of feudal juriſprudence †, which can neither be divided nor alienated. Thus a great portion of landed property, under this rigid form of entail, is withheld from circulation, and deſcends from father to ſon unimproved, and of little value either to the proprietor or to the community. In the account which I have given of the reduction of Peru, various examples occur of enormous tracts of country occupied by ſome of the conquerors ‡. The exceſſes in other provinces were ſimilar, for as the value of the lands which they acquired, was originally eſtimated according to the number of Indians which lived upon them, America was in general ſo thinly peopled, that only diſtricts of great extent could afford ſuch a number of labourers, as might be employed in the mines with any proſpect of conſiderable gain. The pernicious effects of thoſe radical errors in the diſtribution and nature of property in the Spaniſh ſettlements, are felt through every department of induſtry, and may be conſidered as one great cauſe of a progreſs

* Dr. Smith's Inquiry, ii. 166.

† Recop. lib. iv. tit. iii. l. 24. ‡ Book VI.

greſs in population ſo much ſlower than that which has taken place in better conſtituted colonies *. BOOK VIII.

and the nature of their eccleſiaſtical policy.

To this we may add, that the ſupport of the enormous and expenſive fabric of their eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, has been a burden on the Spaniſh colonies, which has greatly retarded the progreſs of population and induſtry. The payment of tithes is a heavy tax on induſtry; and if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumſcribed by the wiſdom of the civil magiſtrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous. But, inſtead of any reſtraint on the claims of eccleſiaſtics, the inconſiderate zeal of the Spaniſh legiſlators admitted them into America in their full extent, and at once impoſed on their infant colonies, a burden which is in no ſlight degree oppreſſive to ſociety even in its moſt improved ſtate. As early as the year 1501, the payment of tithes in the colonies was enjoined, and the mode of it regulated by law, and every article of primary neceſſity, towards which the attention of new ſettlers muſt naturally be turned, was ſubjected to that grievous exaction †. Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of ſimple culture. Its more artificial and operoſe productions; ſuch as ſugar, indigo, and cochineal, were ſoon declared to be tytheable ‡; and thus the induſtry of the planter was taxed in every ſtage of its progreſs, from its rudeſt eſſay to its higheſt improvement. To the weight of this legal impoſition, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from ſuperſtitious reverence for eccleſiaſtics of every denomination, they have beſtowed profuſe

* See NOTE LXXVII. † Recop. lib. i. tit. xvi. l. 2.
‡ Ibid. l. 3. and 4.

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fuſe donatives on churches and monaſteries, and have unprofitably waſted a large proportion of that wealth, which might have nouriſhed and given vigour to productive labour in growing colonies.

Various orders of people in the colonies.

But ſo fertile and inviting are the regions of America, which the Spaniards have occupied, that notwithſtanding all the circumſtances, which have checked and retarded population, it has gradually increaſed, and filled the colonies of Spain with citizens of various orders. Among theſe, the Spaniards, who arrive from Europe, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Chapetones*, are the firſt in rank and power. From the jealous attention of the Spaniſh court to ſecure the dependence of the colonies, every department of conſequence is filled by perſons ſent from Europe; and in order to prevent any of dubious fidelity from being employed, each muſt bring proof of a clear deſcent from a family of *Old Chriſtians*, untainted with any mixture of Jewiſh or Mahometan blood, and never diſgraced by any cenſure of the inquiſition *. In ſuch pure hands, power is deemed to be ſafely lodged, and almoſt every public function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone. Every perſon, who by his birth, or reſidence in America, may be ſuſpected of any attachment or intereſt adverſe to the mother-country, is the object of diſtruſt to ſuch a degree, as amounts nearly to an excluſion from all offices of confidence or authority †. By this conſpicuous predilection of the court, the Chapetones are raiſed to ſuch pre-eminence in America, that they look down with diſdain on every other order of men.

Chapetones the firſt.

THE

* Recop. lib. ix. tit. xxvi. l. 15, 16.

† See NOTE LXXVIII.

Creoles the second.

THE character and ſtate of the *Creoles*, or deſcendants of Europeans ſettled in America, the ſecond claſs of ſubjects in the Spaniſh colonies, has enabled the Chapetones to acquire other advantages, hardly leſs conſiderable than thoſe which they derive from the partial favour of government. Though ſome of the Creolian race are deſcended from the conquerors of the New World; though others can trace up their pedigree to the nobleſt families in Spain; though many are poſſeſſed of ample fortunes, yet, by the enervating influence of a ſultry climate, by the rigour of a jealous government, and by their deſpair of attaining that diſtinction to which mankind naturally aſpire, the vigour of their minds is ſo entirely broken, that a great part of them waſte life in luxurious indulgences, mingled with an illiberal ſuperſtition ſtill more debaſing. Languid and unenterprizing, the operations of an active extended commerce would be to them ſo cumberſome and oppreſſive, that in almoſt every part of America they decline engaging in it. The interior traffic of every colony, as well as its trade with the neighbouring provinces, and with Spain itſelf, are carried on chiefly by the Chapetones *; who, as the recompence of their induſtry, amaſs immenſe wealth, while the Creoles, ſunk in ſloth, are ſatisfied with the revenues of their paternal eſtates.

Rivalſhip between theſe.

FROM this ſtated competition for power and wealth, between thoſe two orders of citizens, and the various paſſions excited by a rivalſhip ſo intereſting, their hatred is violent and implacable. On every occaſion, ſymptoms of this averſion break out, and the common appellations which each beſtows on the other, are as contemptuous as thoſe

* Voy. de Ulloa, 1. 27, 251. Voy. de Frezier, 227.

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those which flow from the most deep-rooted national antipathy *. The court of Spain, from a refinement of distrustful policy, cherishes those seeds of discord, and foments this mutual jealousy, which not only prevents the two most powerful classes of its subjects in the New World from combining against the parent state, but prompts each with the most vigilant zeal, to observe the motions and to counteract the schemes of the other.

A mixed race forms the third order of citizens.

The third class of inhabitants in the Spanish colonies is a mixed race, the offspring either of an European and a negroe, or of an European and Indian, the former called *Mulattoes*, the latter *Mestizos*. As the court of Spain, solicitous to incorporate its new vassals with its ancient subjects, early encouraged the Spaniards settled in America to marry the natives of that country, several alliances of this kind were formed in their infant colonies †. But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with this injunction of their sovereigns, that this mixed breed has multiplied so greatly, as to constitute a considerable part of the population in all the Spanish settlements. The several stages of descent in this race, and the gradual variations of shade until the African black, or the copper-colour of America, brighten into an European complexion, are accurately marked by the Spaniards, and each distinguished by a peculiar name. Those of the first generation are now considered and treated as Indians and negroes; but in the third descent, the characteristic hue of the former disappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is so entirely effaced, that they can no longer be distinguished from Europeans, and are entitled

* Gage's Survey, p. 9. Frezier, 226.

† Recopil. lib. vi. tit. i. l. 2. Herrera, dec. i. lib. v. c. 12. Dec. iii. lib. vii. c. 2.

titled to all their privileges *. It is chiefly by this mixed race, whose frame is remarkably robust and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on, and other active functions in society are discharged, which the two higher classes of citizens, from pride, or from indolence, disdain to exercise †.

Negroes form the fourth order.

THE negroes hold the fourth rank among the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies. The introduction of that unhappy part of the human species into America, together with their services and sufferings there, shall be fully explained in another place; here they are mentioned chiefly, in order to point out a peculiarity in their situation under the Spanish dominion. In several of their settlements, particularly in New Spain, negroes are chiefly employed in domestic service. They form a principal part in the train of luxury, and are cherished and caressed by their superiors, to whose vanity and pleasures they are equally subservient. Their dress and appearance is hardly less splendid than that of their masters, whose manners they imitate, and whose passions they imbibe ‡. Elevated by this distinction, they have assumed such a tone of superiority over the Indians, and treat them with such insolence and scorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru, where negroes are more numerous, and employed in field-work as well as domestic service, they maintain their ascendant over the Indians, and their mutual hatred subsists with equal violence. The laws have industriously fomented this aversion, to which accident gave rise, and by most rigorous injunctions, have endeavoured

* Voy. de Ulloa, i. p. 27. † Ibid. p. 29. Voy. de Bouguer, p. 101. Melendez, Tesoros, Verdaderos, i. 354.
‡ Gage, p. 56. Voy. de Ulloa, i. 451.

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voured to prevent every intercourſe that might form a bond of union between the two races. Thus, by an artful policy, the Spaniards derive ſtrength from that which is the weakneſs of other European colonies, and have ſecured as aſſociates and defenders, thoſe very perſons who elſewhere are objects of jealouſy and terror *.

The Indians form the laſt order of citizens.

THE Indians form the laſt, and the moſt depreſſed order of men in that country, which belonged to their anceſtors. I have already traced the progreſs of the Spaniſh ideas with reſpect to the condition and treatment of that people, and have mentioned the moſt important of their more early regulations, concerning a matter of ſo much conſequence in the adminiſtration of their new dominions. But ſince that period to which I have brought down the hiſtory of America, the information and experience acquired during two centuries, have enabled the court of Spain to make ſuch improvements in this part of its American ſyſtem, that a ſhort view of the preſent condition of the Indians may prove both curious and intereſting.

Their preſent condition.

BY the famous regulations of Charles V. in 1542, which have been ſo often mentioned, the high pretenſions of the conquerors of the New World, who conſidered its inhabitants as ſlaves, to whoſe ſervice they had acquired a full right of property, were finally abrogated. From that period, the Indians have been reputed freemen, and intitled to the privileges of ſubjects. When admitted into this rank, it was deemed juſt, that they ſhould contribute towards the ſupport and improvement of the ſociety, which had adopted them

* Recopil. lib. vii. tit. v. l. 7. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. vii. c. 12. Frezier, 244.

them as members. But as no conſiderable benefit could be expected from the voluntary efforts of men, unacquainted with regular induſtry, and averſe to labour, the court of Spain found it neceſſary to fix and ſecure, by proper regulations, what it thought reaſonable to exact from them. With this view, an annual tax was impoſed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and, at the ſame time, the nature as well as extent of the ſervices which they might be required to perform, were aſcertained with preciſion. This tribute varies in different provinces, but if we take that paid in New Spain as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four ſhillings a head, no exorbitant ſum in countries where, as at the ſource of wealth, the value of money is extremely low *. The right of levying it likewiſe varies. In America, every Indian is either an immediate vaſſal of the crown, or depends upon ſome ſubject to whom the diſtrict, in which he reſides, has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of *encomienda*. In the former caſe, about three-fourths of the tax are paid into the royal treaſury; in the latter, the ſame proportion of it belongs to the holder of the grant. When Spain firſt took poſſeſſion of America, the greater part of it was parcelled out among its conquerors, or thoſe who firſt ſettled there, and but a ſmall portion reſerved for the crown. As thoſe grants which were made for two lives only †, reverted ſucceſſively to the ſovereign, he had it in his power either to diffuſe his favours by grants to new proporietors, or to augment his own revenue by valuable annexa-

Tax impoſed on them.

* See NOTE LXXIX. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 42. Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 461. † Recopil. lib. vi. tit. viii. l. 48. Solorz. de Ind. jure, lib. ii. c. 16.

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tions *. Of theſe, the latter has been frequently choſen: the number of Indians now depending immediately on the crown, is much greater than in the firſt age after the conqueſt, and this branch of the royal revenue continues to extend.

The ſervices demanded.

THE benefit ariſing from the ſervices of the Indians accrues either to the crown, or to the holder of the *encomienda*, according to the ſame rule obſerved in the payment of tribute. Thoſe ſervices, however, which can now be legally exacted, are very different from the ſervile taſks originally impoſed upon the Indians. The nature of the work which they muſt perform is defined, and an equitable recompence is granted for their labour. The ſtated ſervices demanded of the Indians, may be divided into two branches. They are either employed in works of primary neceſſity, without which ſociety cannot ſubſiſt comfortably, or are compelled to labour in the mines, from which the Spaniſh colonies derive their chief value and importance. In conſequence of the former, they are obliged to aſſiſt in the culture of maize, and other grain of neceſſary conſumption; in tending cattle, in erecting edifices of public utility, in building bridges, and in forming high roads †; but they cannot be conſtrained to labour in raiſing vines, olives, and ſugar-canes, or any ſpecies of cultivation, which has for its object the gratification of luxury, or commercial profit ‡. In conſequence of the latter, the Indians are compelled to undertake the more unpleaſant taſk, of extracting ore from the bowels of the earth, and of

* See NOTE LXXX. † Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 19. Solorz. de Ind. jure, ii. lib. i. c. 6, 7, 9.

‡ Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. c. l. 8. Solorz. lib. i. c. 7. N°. 41, &c.

of refining it by ſucceſſive proceſſes, no leſs unwholeſome than operoſe *.

The mode of exacting theſe.

THE mode of exacting both theſe ſervices is the ſame, and is under regulations framed with a view of rendering it as little oppreſſive as poſſible to the Indians. They are called out alternately in diviſions, termed *Mitas*, and no perſon can be compelled to go but in his turn. In Peru, the number called out muſt not exceed the ſeventh part of the inhabitants in any diſtrict †. In New Spain, where the Indians are more numerous, it is fixed at four in the hundred ‡. During what time the labour of thoſe Indians, who are employed in agriculture, continues, I have not been able to learn §. But in Peru, each *Mita*, or diviſion, deſtined for the mines, remains there ſix months; and while engaged in this ſervice, a labourer never receives leſs than two ſhillings a day, and often earns more than double that ſum ‖. No Indian reſiding at a greater diſtance than thirty miles from a mine, is included in the Mita, or diviſion employed in working it ¶; nor are the inhabitants of the low country expoſed to certain deſtruction, by compelling them to remove from that warm climate, to the cold elevated regions where minerals abound ♭¶.

How governed.

THE Indians who live in the principal towns, are entirely ſubject to the Spaniſh laws and magiſtrates; but in their own villages, they are governed by Caziques, ſome of whom are the deſcendants of their ancient lords, others are named by the Spaniſh viceroys. Theſe regulate the petty

* See NOTE LXXXI. † Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 21.
‡ Ibid. l. 22. § See NOTE LXXXII.
‖ Ulloa Entreten. 265, 266. ¶ Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 3.
♭¶. Ibid. l. 23, and tit. . l. 13. See NOTE LXXXIII.

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ty affairs of the people under them, according to maxims of juſtice tranſmitted to them by tradition from their anceſtors. To the Indians, this juriſdiction, lodged in ſuch friendly hands, affords ſome conſolation; and ſo little formidable is this dignity to their new maſters, that they often allow it to deſcend by hereditary right *. For the farther relief of men ſo much expoſed to oppreſſion, the Spaniſh court has appointed an officer in every diſtrict, with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to aſſert the rights of the Indians, to appear in their defence in the courts of juſtice; and by the interpoſition of his authority, to ſet bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymen †. A certain portion of the reſerved fourth of the annual tribute, is deſtined for the ſalary of the caziques and protectors, another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the inſtruction of the Indians ‡. Another part ſeems to be appropriated for their ſupport, and the payment of their tribute in years of famine, or when a particular diſtrict is affected by any extraordinary calamity §. Beſides this, proviſion is made by various laws, that hoſpitals ſhall be founded in every new ſettlement for the reception of Indians ‖. Such hoſpitals have accordingly been erected, both for the indigent and infirm in Lima, in Cuzco, and in Mexico, where the Indians are treated with tenderneſs and humanity ¶.

SUCH is the great outline of juriſprudence and policy by which the Indians are now governed in

* Solorz. de jure Ind. lib. i. c. 26. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vii.
† Solorz. lib. i. c. 27. p. 201. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vi.
‡ Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 30. Tit. xvi. l. 12—15.
§ Recopil. lib. vi. tit. iv. l. 13. ‖ Recopil. lib. i. tit. iv. l. 1, &c. ¶ Voy. de Ulloa, i. 429. 509. Churchill, iv. 496.

in the provinces belonging to Spain. In thoſe regulations of the Spaniſh monarchs, we diſcover no traces of that cruel ſyſtem of extermination, which they have been charged with adopting; and if we admit, that the neceſſity of ſecuring ſubſiſtence for their colonies, or the advantages derived from working the mines, give them a right to avail themſelves of the labour of the Indians, we muſt allow, that the attention with which they regulate and recompenſe that labour, is provident and ſagacious. In no code of laws is greater ſolicitude diſplayed, or precautions multiplied with more concern for the preſervation, the ſecurity, and the happineſs of the ſubject, than we diſcover in the collection of the Spaniſh laws for the Indies. But thoſe latter regulations, like the more early edicts which have been already mentioned, have too often proved ineffectual remedies againſt the evils which they were intended to prevent. In every age, if the ſame cauſes continue to operate, the ſame effects muſt follow. From the immenſe diſtance between the power entruſted with the execution of laws, and that by whoſe authority they are enacted, the vigour even of the moſt abſolute government muſt relax, and the dread of a ſuperior too remote to obſerve with accuracy, or to puniſh with diſpatch, muſt inſenſibly abate. Notwithſtanding the numerous injunctions of the Spaniſh monarchs, the Indians ſtill ſuffer, on many occaſions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magiſtrates, who ought to have protected them; unreaſonable taſks are impoſed; the term of their labour is prolonged, and they groan under all the inſults and wrongs which are the lot of a dependent people *. From ſome information on which I can depend, ſuch oppreſſion abounds more in Peru, than in any other colony.

* See NOTE LXXXIV.

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colony. But it is not general. According to the accounts, even of thoſe authors who are moſt expoſed to exaggerate the ſufferings of the Indians, they, in ſeveral provinces, enjoy not only eaſe, but affluence; they poſſeſs large farms; they are maſters of numerous herds and flocks; and, by the knowledge which they have acquired of European arts and induſtry, are ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but with many luxuries of life *.

Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the colonies.

AFTER explaining the form of civil policy in the Spaniſh colonies, and the ſtate of the various orders of perſons ſubject to it, the peculiarities in their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution merit conſideration. Notwithſtanding the ſuperſtitious veneration with which Spaniards are devoted to the Holy See, the vigilant and jealous policy of Ferdinand early prompted him to take precautions againſt the introduction of the papal dominion into America. With this view, he ſolicited Alexander VI. for a grant of the tythes in all the newly-diſcovered countries †, which he obtained on condition of his making proviſion for the religious inſtruction of the natives. Soon after, Julius II. conferred on him the right of patronage, and abſolute diſpoſal of all eccleſiaſtical benefices there ‡. Both theſe pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what he demanded, beſtowed thoſe donations with an inconſiderate liberality, which their ſucceſſors have often lamented, and wiſhed to recall. In conſequence of thoſe grants, the Spaniſh monarchs have become, in effect, the heads of the American church. In them the adminiſtration of its revenues is veſted. Their nomination of perſons to ſupply vacant benefices is inſtantly confirmed

Reſtraints on the papal juriſdiction.

* Gage's Survey, p. 85. 90. 104. 119, &c. † Bulla Alex. VI. A. D. 1501, ap. S. Iorz. de jure Ind. ii. p. 498. ‡ Bulla Julii, ii. 1508. Ibid. 509.

firmed by the pope. Thus, in all Spaniſh America, authority of every ſpecies centres in the crown. There no colliſion is known between ſpiritual and temporal juriſdiction. The king is the only ſuperior, his name alone is heard, and no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls cannot be admitted into America, nor are they of any force there, until they have been previouſly examined, and approved of by the royal council of the Indies *; and if any bull ſhould be ſurreptitiouſly introduced, and circulated in America without obtaining that approbation, eccleſiaſtics are required not only to prevent it from taking effect, but to ſeize all the copies of it, and tranſmit them to the council of the Indies †. To this limitation of the papal juriſdiction, equally ſingular, whether we conſider the age and nation in which it was deviſed, or the jealous attention with which Ferdinand, and his ſucceſſors, have ſtudied to maintain it in full force ‡, Spain is indebted, in a great meaſure, for the uniform tranquillity which has reigned in her American dominions.

Form and endowments of the church in the Spaniſh colonies.

THE hierarchy is eſtabliſhed in America in the ſame form as in Spain, with its full train of archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and other dignitaries. The inferior clergy are divided into three claſſes, under the denomination of *Curas*, *Doctrineros*, and *Miſſioneros*. The firſt are pariſh-prieſts in thoſe parts of the country where the Spaniards have ſettled. The ſecond have the charge of ſuch diſtricts as are inhabited by Indians, ſubjected to the Spaniſh government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in converting and

* Recopil. lib. i. tit. ix. l. 2. and Autas del Conſejo de las Indias, clxi. † Recop. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55. ‡ Recop. lib. i. paſſim.

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and inſtructing thoſe fiercer tribes, which diſdain ſubmiſſion to the Spaniſh yoke, and live in remote or inacceſſible regions, to which the Spaniſh arms have not penetrated. So numerous are the eccleſiaſtics of all thoſe various orders, and ſuch the profuſe liberality with which many of them are endowed, that the revenues of the church in America are immenſe. The ſuperſtition of Rome appears with its utmoſt pomp in the New World. Churches and convents there are magnificent and richly adorned; and on high feſtivals, the diſplay of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, is ſuch as exceeds the conception of an European *. An eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment ſo ſplendid and expenſive, is unfavourable, as has been formerly obſerved, to the progreſs of riſing colonies; but in countries where riches abound, and the people are ſo delighted with parade, that religion muſt aſſume it, in order to attract their veneration, this propenſity to oſtentation has been indulged, and becomes leſs pernicious.

Pernicious effects of monaſtic inſtitutions.

THE early inſtitution of monaſteries in the Spaniſh colonies, and the inconſiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with conſequences more fatal. In every new ſettlement, the firſt object is to encourage population, and to incite every citizen to contribute towards augmenting the ſtrength and number of the community. During the youth and vigour of ſociety, while there is room to ſpread, and ſuſtenance is procured with facility, mankind increaſe with amazing rapidity. But the Spaniards had hardly taken poſſeſſion of America, when, with a moſt prepoſterous policy, they began to erect convents where perſons of both ſexes were ſhut up, under a vow to defeat the purpoſe of nature, and to counteract

* Voy. de Ulloa, i. 430.

counteract the first of her laws. Influenced by a misguided piety, which ascribes transcendent merit to a state of celibacy, or allured by the prospect of that listless ease, which, in sultry climates, is deemed supreme felicity, numbers crowd into those mansions of sloth and superstition, and are lost to society. As none but persons of Spanish extract are admitted into the monasteries of the New World, the evil is more sensibly felt, and every monk or nun, may be considered as an active member withdrawn from civil life. The impropriety of such foundations in any situation where the extent of territory requires additional hands to improve it, is so obvious, that some catholic states have expressly prohibited any person in their colonies from taking the monastic vows *. Even the Spanish monarchs, on some occasions, seem to have been alarmed with the spreading of a spirit so adverse to the increase and prosperity of their colonies, that they have endeavoured to check it †. But the Spaniards in America, more thoroughly under the influence of superstition than their countrymen in Europe, and directed by ecclesiastics more bigoted and illiterate, have conceived such an high opinion of monastic sanctity, that no regulations can restrain their zeal; and, by the excess of their ill-judged bounty, religious houses have multiplied to a degree no less amazing than pernicious to society ‡.

Character of ecclesiastics in Spanish America.

In viewing the state of colonies, where the number and influence of ecclesiastics is so great, the character of this powerful body is an object that merits particular attention. A considerable part of the secular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives

* Voy. de Ulloa, ii. 124. † Herrera, dec. v. lib. ix. c. 1, 2. Recop. lib. i. tit. iii. l. 1, 2. Tit. iv. c. 2. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23. ‡ See NOTE LXXXV.

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tives of Spain. As perſons accuſtomed by their education to the retirement and indolence of academic life, are more incapable of active enterprize, and leſs diſpoſed to ſtrike into new paths, than any order of men, the eccleſiaſtical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly ſuch as, from merit or rank in life, have little proſpect of ſucceſs in their own country. Accordingly, the ſecular prieſts in the New World are ſtill leſs diſtinguiſhed than their brethren in Spain, for literary accompliſhments of any ſpecies; and though, by the ample proviſion which has been made for the American church, many of its members enjoy that eaſe and independence, which is favourable to the cultivation of ſcience; the body of ſecular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whoſe works convey ſuch uſeful information, or poſſeſs ſuch a degree of merit, as to be ranked among thoſe which attract the attention of enlightened nations. But the greateſt part of the eccleſiaſtics in the Spaniſh ſettlements are regulars. On the diſcovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monaſtic orders; and, with a becoming alacrity, they immediately ſent forth miſſionaries to labour in it. The firſt attempt to inſtruct and convert the Americans, was made by monks; and, as ſoon as the conqueſt of any province was completed, and its eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment began to aſſume ſome form, the popes, as a reward of their ſervice, permitted the miſſionaries of the four mendicant orders, to accept of parochial charges in America, to perform all ſpiritual functions, and to receive the tythes, and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the dioceſe, or being ſubject to his cenſures. In conſequence of this, a new career of uſefulneſs, as well as new objects of ambition preſented themſelves.

of the ſecularſ;

of the regulars.

ſelves. Whenever a call is made for a freſh ſupply of miſſionaries, men of the moſt ardent and aſpiring minds, impatient under the reſtraint of a cloiſter, weary of its inſipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irkſome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their ſervice with eagerneſs, and repair to the New World in queſt of liberty and diſtinction. Nor do they purſue them without ſucceſs. The higheſt eccleſiaſtical honours and moſt lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the hands of regulars; and to them chiefly the Americans are indebted for any portion of ſcience that is cultivated among them. They are almoſt the only Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, from whom we have received accounts either of the civil or natural hiſtory of the various provinces in America. Some of them, though deeply tinged with the indelible ſuperſtition of their profeſſion, have publiſhed books which give a favourable idea of their abilities. The natural and moral hiſtory of the New World, by the Jeſuit Acoſta, contains more accurate obſervations, perhaps, and more ſound ſcience, than are to be found in any deſcription of remote countries publiſhed in the ſixteenth century.

Diſſolute manners of ſome of them.

But the ſame diſguſt with monaſtic life, to which America is indebted for ſome inſtructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very different character. The giddy, the profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid diſcipline of a convent are intolerable, conſider a miſſion to America as a releaſe from mortification and bondage. There they ſoon obtain ſome parochial charge, and far removed, by their ſituation, from the inſpection of their monaſtic ſuperiors, and exempt, by their character, from the juriſdiction of their dioceſan*, they are hardly ſubject to any controul.

* Avenando Theſ. Indic. ii. 253.

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troul. According to the teſtimony of the moſt zealous catholics, many of the regular clergy in the Spaniſh ſettlements, are not only deſtitute of the virtues becoming their profeſſion, but regardleſs of that external decorum and reſpect for the opinion of mankind, which preſerve a ſemblance of worth, where the reality is wanting. Secure of impunity, ſome regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce; and are ſo rapaciouſly eager in amaſſing wealth, that they become the moſt grievous oppreſſors of the Indians, whom it was their duty to have protected. Others, with no leſs flagrant violation of their vow of chaſtity, indulge with little diſguiſe in the moſt diſſolute licentiouſneſs *.

VARIOUS ſchemes have been propoſed for redreſſing enormities ſo manifeſt and offenſive. Several perſons no leſs eminent for piety than diſcernment, have contended, that the regulars, in conformity to the canons of the church, ought to be confined within the walls of their cloiſters, and ſhould no longer be permitted to encroach on the functions of the ſecular clergy. Some public-ſpirited magiſtrates, from conviction of its being neceſſary to deprive the regulars of a privilege beſtowed at firſt with good intention, but of which time and experience had diſcovered the pernicious effects, openly countenanced the ſecular clergy in their attempts to aſſert their own rights. The
1618. Prince D'Eſquilache, viceroy of Peru under Philip III. took meaſures ſo deciſive and effectual for circumſcribing the regulars within their proper ſphere, as ſtruck them with general conſternation †. They had recourſe to their uſual arts. They alarmed the

* See NOTE LXXXVI. † See NOTE LXXXVII.

the ſuperſtitious, by repreſenting the proceedings of the viceroy as innovations fatal to religion. They employed all the refinements of intrigue, in order to gain perſons in power; and ſeconded by the powerful influence of the Jeſuits, who enjoyed all the privileges which belonged to the Mendicant orders in America, they made a deep impreſſion on a bigoted prince, and a weak miniſtry. The ancient practice was tolerated. The abuſes which it occaſioned continued to increaſe, and the corruption of Monks, exempt from the reſtraints of diſcipline, and the inſpection of any ſuperior, became a diſgrace to religion. At laſt, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monaſtic orders began to abate, and the power of the Jeſuits was upon the decline, Ferdinand VI. ventured to apply the only effectual remedy, by iſſuing an edict prohibiting regulars of every denomination from taking the charge of any pariſh with the cure of ſouls; and declaring, that on the demiſe of the preſent incumbents, none but ſecular prieſts, ſubject to the juriſdiction of their dioceſans, ſhall be preſented to vacant benefices *. If this regulation is carried into execution with ſteadineſs, in any degree proportional to the wiſdom with which it is framed, a very conſiderable reformation may take place in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of Spaniſh America, and the ſecular clergy may gradually become a reſpectable body of men. The deportment of many eccleſiaſtics, even at preſent, ſeems to be decent and exemplary, otherwiſe they would not be held in ſuch high eſtimation, and poſſeſs ſuch a wonderful aſcendant over the minds of their countrymen, throughout all the Spaniſh ſettlements.

June 23d. 1757.

But

* Real Cedula MS. penes me.

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Small progreſs in converting the Indians to Chriſtianity.

But whatever merit the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics in America may poſſeſs, the ſucceſs of their endeavours in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians has been more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the degree of their zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over that people. For this various reaſons may be aſſigned. The firſt miſſionaries, in their ardour to make proſelytes, admitted the people of America into the chriſtian church, without previous inſtruction in the doctrines of religion, and even before they themſelves had acquired ſuch knowledge of their language, as to be able to explain to them the myſteries of faith, or the precepts of duty. Reſting upon a ſubtle diſtinction in ſcholaſtic theology, they adopted this ſtrange practice no leſs inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of a religion, which addreſſes itſelf to the underſtanding of men, than repugnant to the dictates of reaſon. As ſoon as any body of people, overawed by dread of the Spaniſh power, moved by the example of their own chiefs, incited by levity, or yielding from mere ignorance, expreſſed the ſlighteſt deſire of embracing the religion of their conquerors, they were inſtantly baptized. While this rage of converſion continued, a ſingle clergyman baptized in one day above five thouſand Mexicans, and did not deſiſt until he was ſo exhauſted by fatigue, that he was unable to lift his hands*. In the courſe of a few years, after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the ſacrament of baptiſm was adminiſtered to more than four millions †. Proſelytes adopted with ſuch inconſiderate haſte, and who were neither inſtructed in the nature of the tenets, to which it was ſuppoſed they had given aſſent, nor taught the abſurdity of thoſe which

* P. Torribio, MS. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. xvi. c. 6.
† P. Torribio, Ibid. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 8.

*

which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrines and rites, with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they acquired. These sentiments they transmitted to their posterity, into whose minds they have sunk so deep, that the Spanish ecclesiastics, with all their industry, have not been able to eradicate them. The religious institutions of their ancestors are still remembered, and held in honour by the Indians, both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they think themselves out of reach of inspection by the Spaniards, they assemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites *.

But this is not the most unsurmountable obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the Indians. The powers of their uncultivated understandings are so limited, their observations and reflections reach so little beyond the mere objects of sense, that they seem hardly to have the capacity of forming abstract ideas, and possess not language to express them. To such men, the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity must be incomprehensible. The numerous and splendid ceremonies of popish worship, as they catch the eye, please and interest them; but when their instructors attempt to explain the articles of faith, with which those external observances are connected, though they listen with patience, they so little conceive the meaning of what they hear, that their acquiescence does not merit the name of belief. Their indifference is still greater than their incapacity. Attentive only to the present moment, and ingrossed by the objects before them, the Indians so seldom reflect upon what is past,

* Voy. de Ulloa, i. 331. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 23. Lib. xvi. c. 28. Gage, 171.

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or take thought for what is to come, that neither the promiſes nor threats of religion, make much impreſſion upon them; and while their foreſight rarely extends ſo far as the next day, it is almoſt impoſſible to inſpire them with ſolicitude about the concerns of a future world. Aſtoniſhed equally at their ſlowneſs of comprehenſion, and at their inſenſibility, ſome of the early miſſionaries pronounced them a race of men ſo brutiſh, as to be incapable of underſtanding the firſt principles of religion. A council held at Lima, decreed, that, on account of this incapacity, they ought to be excluded from the ſacrament of the Euchariſt *. And though Paul III. by his famous bull, iſſued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures, entitled to all the privileges of Chriſtians †; yet, after the lapſe of two centuries, during which they have been members of the church, ſo imperfect are their attainments in knowledge, that very few poſſeſs ſuch a portion of ſpiritual diſcernment, as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion ‡. From this idea of their incapacity and imperfect knowledge of religion, when the zeal of Philip II. eſtabliſhed the inquiſition in America in the year 1570, the Indians were exempted from the juriſdiction of that ſevere tribunal §, and ſtill continue under the inſpection of their dioceſans. Even after the moſt perfect inſtruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though ſome of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary courſe of academic education with applauſe, their frailty is ſtill ſo much ſuſpected, that no Indian is either ordained a prieſt, or received into any religious order ‖.

FROM

* Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20.

† Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 25. Garcia origen. 311.

‡ Voy. de Ulloa, i. 344.

§ Recop. lib. vi. tit. i. l. 35.

‖ Torquem. lib. xvii. c. 13. See NOTE LXXXVIII.

Productions of the Spaniſh colonies.

FROM this brief ſurvey, ſome idea may be formed of the interior ſtate of the Spaniſh colonies. The various productions with which they ſupply and enrich the mother-country, and the ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe between them, come next in order to be explained. If the dominions of Spain in the New World, had been of ſuch moderate extent, as bore any proportion to the parent ſtate, the progreſs of her colonizing might have been attended with the ſame benefit as that of other nations. But when, in leſs than half a century, her inconſiderate rapacity had ſeized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill ſuch vaſt regions, with a number of inhabitants ſufficient for the cultivation of them, was ſo obvious, as to give a wrong direction to all the efforts of the coloniſts. They did not form compact ſettlements, where induſtry, circumſcribed within limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that ſober perſevering ſpirit, which gradually converts whatever is in its poſſeſſion to its proper uſe, and derives from it the greateſt advantage. Inſtead of this, the Spaniards, ſeduced by the boundleſs proſpect which opened to them, divided their poſſeſſions in America into governments of vaſt extent. As their number was too ſmall to attempt the regular culture of the immenſe provinces, which they occupied rather than peopled, they bent their attention to a few objects, that allured them with hopes of ſudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of induſtry, which lead more ſlowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increaſe of national ſtrength.

From their mines.

OF all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of ſearching for the precious metals is one of the moſt inviting to men, who are either unaccuſtomed to the regular aſſiduity with

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which the culture of the earth, and the operations of commerce muſt be carried on, or ſo enterpriſing and rapacious, as not to be ſatisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as ſoon as the ſeveral countries in America were ſubjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almoſt the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers, by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to ſettle, by the proſpect of their affording gold and ſilver, were totally neglected. Thoſe, in which they met with a diſappointment of the ſanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the iſlands, the firſt fruits of their diſcoveries, and the firſt object of their attention, ſunk ſo much in their eſtimation, when the mines which they had opened there were exhauſted, that they were deſerted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more induſtrious poſſeſſors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver found among the natives, who ſearched for them with little induſtry, and leſs ſkill, promiſed an unexhauſted ſtore, as the recompence of more intelligent and perſevering efforts.

Diſcovery of thoſe of Potoſi and Sacotecas.

During ſeveral years, the ardour of their reſearches was kept up by hope, rather than ſucceſs. At length, the rich ſilver mines of Potoſi, in Peru, were accidentally diſcovered in the year 1545*, by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountain, in purſuit of a Llama which had ſtrayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time, ſucceſſive diſcoveries have been made in both colonies, and ſilver mines

* Fernandez, p. i. lib. xi. c. 11.

mines are now ſo numerous, that the working of them, and of ſome few mines of gold in the provinces of Tirra Fierma, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a ſyſtem no leſs complicated than intereſting. To deſcribe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the ſeveral proceſſes by which the metals are ſeparated from the ſubſtances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philoſopher or chymiſt, rather than of the hiſtorian.

Riches which they yield.

THE exuberant profuſion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treaſures, aſtoniſhed mankind, accuſtomed hitherto to receive a penurious ſupply of the precious metals, from the more ſcanty ſtores contained in the mines of the ancient hemiſphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and ſilver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four millions ſterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was diſcovered to the preſent time. This in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immenſe as this ſum is, the Spaniſh writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it, in conſideration of the treaſure which has been extracted from the mines, without paying duty to the king. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a ſupply of wealth, amounting at leaſt to two thouſand millions of pounds ſterling. *

THE

* Uztariz Theor. y Pract. de Comercia, c. 3. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. xi. c. 15. See NOTE LXXXIX.

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Spirit to which this gives riſe.

THE mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treaſure, are not worked at the expence of the crown, or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the perſon who diſcovers a new vein, is intitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is meaſured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the cuſtomary duty to the king, for what it ſhall produce. Invited by the facility with which ſuch grants are obtained, and encouraged by ſome ſtriking examples of ſucceſs in this line of adventure: not only the ſanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident enter upon it with aſtoniſhing ardour. With vaſt objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her ſtores, and give them up to their wiſhes, they deem every other occupation inſipid and unintereſting. The charms of this purſuit, like the rage for deep play, is ſo bewitching, and take ſuch full poſſeſſion of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence, the cautious become enterprizing and the covetous profuſe. Powerful as this charm naturally is, it's force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru, by the cant name of *ſearchers*. Theſe are commonly perſons of deſperate fortunes, who, availing themſelves of ſome ſkill in mineralogy, accompanied with the inſinuating manner, and confident pretenſions peculiar to projectors, addreſs the wealthy and the credulous. By plauſible deſcriptions of the appearances which they have diſcovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing when requiſite, ſpecimens of promiſing ore; by affirming, with an impoſing aſſurance, that ſucceſs is certain, and that the expence muſt be trifling; they ſeldom fail to perſuade

perſuade. An aſſociation is formed; a ſmall ſum is advanced by each co-partner; the mine is opened; the *ſearcher* is intruſted with the ſole direction of every operation: unforeſeen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but amidſt a ſucceſſion of diſappointments and delays, hope is never extinguiſhed, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is obſerved, that if any perſon once enter this ſeducing path, it is almoſt impoſſible to return; his ideas alter, he ſeems to be poſſeſſed with another ſpirit, viſions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and ſpeaks, and dreams of nothing elſe *.

Fatal effects of it.

SUCH is the ſpirit that muſt be formed, wherever the active exertions of any ſociety are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and ſilver. No ſpirit is more adverſe to ſuch improvements in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the Spaniſh colonies had been founded upon the principles of ſound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legiſlature would have been exerted with as much ardour, in reſtraining its ſubjects from ſuch pernicious induſtry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of mining "(ſays a good judge of the political conduct of "nations) inſtead of replacing the capital em- "ployed in them, together with the ordinary "profit of ſtock, commonly abſorb both capital "and profit. They are the projects therefore, to "which, of all others, a prudent law-giver, who "deſired to increaſe the capital of his nation, "would leaſt chuſe to give any extraordinary en- "couragement, or to turn towards them a greater "ſhare

* Ulloa Entreten. p. 223.

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" ſhare of that capital than would go to them of " its own accord. Such, in reality, is the abſurd " confidence which all men have in their own " good fortune, that wherever there is the leaſt " probability of ſucceſs, too great a ſhare of it is " apt to go to them of its own accord *." But in the Spaniſh colonies government is ſtudious to cheriſh a ſpirit which it ſhould have laboured to depreſs, and by the ſanction of its approbation augments that inconſiderate credulity, which has turned the active induſtry of Mexico and Peru into ſuch an improper channel. To this may be imputed the ſlender progreſs which they have made during two centuries and a half, either in uſeful manufactures, or in thoſe lucrative branches of cultivation, which furniſh the colonies of other nations with their ſtaple commodities. In compariſon with the precious metals, every bounty of nature is ſo much deſpiſed, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of the language in America, and the Spaniards ſettled there denominate a country, *rich*, not from the fertility of its ſoil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its paſtures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In queſt of theſe, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico; and reſort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built ſome of the largeſt towns which they poſſeſs in the New World. As the activity and enterpriſe of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now ſo difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various cauſes, the gain of working mines is much decreaſed; the faſcination continues, and almoſt every perſon, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is ſtill engaged in ſome adventure of this kind †.

But

* Dr. Smith's Inquiry, &c. ii. 155.

† See NOTE XC.

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Other commodities of the Spaniſh colonies.

But though mines are the chief object of attention to the Spaniards, and the precious metals which they yield, form the principal article in their commerce; the fertile countries which they poſſeſs, ſupply them with other commodities of ſuch value or ſcarcity, as to attract a conſiderable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almoſt peculiar to New Spain, of ſuch demand in commerce, that the ſale is always certain, and it yields ſuch profit, as amply rewards the pains and attention employed in rearing the curious inſects of which this valuable drug is compoſed, and preparing it for the market. Quinquina, or Jeſuit's Bark, the moſt ſalutary ſimple, perhaps, and of moſt reſtorative virtue, that Providence, in compaſſion for human infirmity, has made known unto man, is found only in Peru, to which it affords a lucrative branch of commerce*. The indigo of Guatimala is ſuperior in quality to that of any province in America, and cultivated to a conſiderable extent. Cacoa, though not peculiar to the Spaniſh colonies, attains to its higheſt ſtate of perfection there, and from the great conſumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity. The tobacco of Cuba, of more exquiſite flavour than any brought from the New World; the ſugar raiſed in that iſland, in Hiſpaniola, and in New Spain; together with drugs of various kinds, may be mentioned among the natural productions of America, which enrich the Spaniſh commerce. To theſe muſt be added an article of no inconſiderable account, the exportation of hides; for which, as well as for many of thoſe which I have enumerated, the Spaniards are more indebted to the wonderful fertility of the country than to their own foreſight and induſtry. The domeſtic animals of Europe, particularly horned

* See NOTE XCI.

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horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity which almoſt exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards ſettled there, the herds of tame cattle became ſo numerous, that their proprietors reckoned them by thouſands *. Leſs attention being paid to them, as they continued to increaſe, they were ſuffered to run wild, and ſpreading over a country of boundleſs extent, under a mild climate and covered with rich paſture, their number became immenſe. They range over the vaſt plains which extend from Buenos Ayres, towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thouſand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed ſeveral days before he can diſentangle himſelf from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and ſeems to have no end. They are hardly leſs numerous in New Spain, and in ſeveral other provinces: theſe are killed merely for the ſake of their hides; and the ſlaughter at certain ſeaſons is ſo great, that the ſtench of the carcaſes which are left in the field, would affect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vaſt flocks of *gallinazos*, or American vultures, the moſt voracious of all the feathered kind, did not inſtantly devour them. The number of thoſe hides exported in every fleet to Europe is prodigious, and is a lucrative branch of commerce †.

ALMOST all thoſe articles may be conſidered as ſtaple commodities peculiar to America, and different, if we except that laſt mentioned, from the productions of the mother-country.

Advantages which Spain derives from her colonies.

WHEN the importation into Spain of thoſe various articles from her colonies, firſt became active and conſiderable, her interior induſtry and manufactures

* Oviedo ap. Ramuſ. iii. 101. B. Hackluyt, iii. 466. 511.

† Acoſta, lib. iii. c. 33. Ovallo Hiſt. of Chili. Church. Collect, iii. 47. ſep. Ibid. v. p. 680, 692. Lettres Edif. xiii. 235. Feuille, i. 249.

factures were in a ſtate ſo proſperous, that with the product of theſe, ſhe was able both to purchaſe the commodities of the New World, and to anſwer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and Charles V. Spain was one of the moſt induſtrious countries in Europe. Her manufactures in wool, and flax, and ſilk, were ſo extenſive, as not only to furniſh what was ſufficient for her own conſumption, but to afford a ſurplus for exportation. When a market for them, formerly unknown, and to which ſhe alone had acceſs, opened in America, ſhe had recourſe to her domeſtic ſtore, and found there an abundant ſupply *. This new employment muſt naturally have added vivacity to the ſpirit of induſtry. Nouriſhed and invigorated by it, the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain might have gone on increaſing in the ſame proportion with her colonies. Nor was the ſtate of the Spaniſh marine at this period leſs flouriſhing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, Spain is ſaid to have poſſeſſed above a thouſand merchant ſhips †, a number probably far ſuperior to that of any nation in Europe. By the aid which foreign trade and domeſtic induſtry give reciprocally to each other in their progreſs, the augmentation of both muſt have been rapid and extenſive, and Spain might have received the ſame acceſſion of opulence and vigour from her acquiſitions in the New World, that other powers have derived from their colonies there.

Why ſhe does not now derive the ſame.

But various cauſes prevented this. It is with nations as with individuals, when wealth flows in gradually, and with moderate increaſe, it feeds and nouriſhes that activity which is friendly to commerce,

* See NOTE XCII. † Campomanes, ii. 140.

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commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well conducted exertions; but when it pours in ſuddenly, and with too full a ſtream, it overturns all ſober plans of induſtry, and brings along with it a taſte for what is wild, and extravagant, and daring in buſineſs or in action. Such was the great and ſudden augmentation of power and revenue, that the poſſeſſion of America brought into Spain, and ſome ſymptoms of its pernicious influence upon the political operations of that monarchy ſoon began to appear. For a conſiderable time, however, the ſupply of treaſure from the New World was ſcanty and precarious, and the genius of Charles V. conducted public meaſures with ſuch prudence, that the effects of this influence were little perceived. But when Philip II. aſcended the Spaniſh throne, with talents far inferior to thoſe of his father, and remittances from the colonies became a regular and vaſt branch of revenue, the fatal operation of this rapid change in the ſtate of the kingdom, both on the monarch and his people, was at once conſpicuous. Philip, poſſeſſing that ſpirit of unceaſing aſſiduity, which often characterizes the ambition of men of moderate talents, entertained ſuch an high opinion of his own reſources, that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. Shut up himſelf in the ſolitude of the Eſcurial, he troubled and annoyed all the nations around him. He waged open war with the Dutch and Engliſh; he encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France; he conquered Portugal, and maintained armies and garriſons in Italy, Africa, and both the Indies. By ſuch a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, purſued with ardour during the courſe of a long reign, Spain was drained both of men and money. Under the weak adminiſtration of his ſucceſſor, Philip III. the vigour of the nation continued to decreaſe, and ſunk into the loweſt decline, when the

the inconſiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once near a million of his moſt induſtrious ſubjects, at the very time when the exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom required ſome extraordinary exertion of political wiſdom to augment its numbers, and to revive its ſtrength. Early in the ſeventeenth century, Spain felt ſuch a diminution in the number of her people, that from inability to recruit her armies, ſhe was obliged to contract her operations. Her flouriſhing manufactures were fallen into decay. Her fleets, which had been the terror of all Europe, were ruined. Her extenſive foreign commerce was loſt. The trade between different parts of her own dominions was interrupted, and the ſhips which attempted to carry it on, were taken and plundered by enemies, whom they once deſpiſed. Even agriculture, the primary object of induſtry in every proſperous ſtate, was neglected, and one of the moſt fertile countries in Europe hardly raiſed what was ſufficient for the ſupport of its own inhabitants.

A. D. 1611.

Rapid decline of its trade.

In proportion as the population and manufactures of the parent ſtate declined, the demands of her colonies continued to increaſe. The Spaniards, like their monarchs, intoxicated with the wealth which poured in annually upon them, deſerted the paths of induſtry, to which they had been accuſtomed, and repaired with eagerneſs to thoſe regions from which this opulence iſſued. By this rage of emigration, another drain was opened, and the ſtrength of the colonies augmented by exhauſting that of the mother country. All thoſe emigrants, as well as the adventurers who had at firſt ſettled in America, depended abſolutely upon Spain for almoſt every article of neceſſary conſumption. Engaged in more alluring and lucrative purſuits, or prevented by reſtraints which government impoſed, they could not turn their own attention

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attention towards eſtabliſhing the manufactures requiſite for comfortable ſubſiſtence. They received (as I have obſerved in another place) their clothing, their furniture, whatever miniſters to the eaſe or luxury of life, and even their inſtruments of labour from Europe. Spain, thinned of people, and void of induſtry, was unable to ſupply their increaſing demands. She had recourſe to her neighbours. The manufactures of the Low Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into exiſtence, or animated with new vivacity, furniſhed in abundance whatever ſhe required. In vain did the fundamental law concerning the excluſion of foreigners from trade with America, oppoſe this innovation. Neceſſity, more powerful than any ſtatute, defeated its operations, and conſtrained the Spaniards themſelves to concur in eluding it. The Engliſh, the French, and Dutch, relying on the fidelity and honour of Spaniſh merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, ſend out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are ſold there, either in ſpecie, or in the rich commodities of the New World. Neither the dread of danger, nor the allurement of profit, ever induced a Spaniſh factor to betray or defraud the perſon who confided in him *; and that probity, which is the pride and diſtinction of nation, contributes to its ruin. In a ſhort time, not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spaniſh growth or fabric †. All the reſt was the property of foreign merchants, though entered in the name of Spaniards. The treaſure of the New World may be ſaid henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. Before it reached Europe, it was anticipated as the price

* Zavala Repreſentacion, p. 226. † Campomanes, ii. 138.

price of goods purchaſed from foreigners. That wealth, which, by an internal circulation, would have ſpread through each vein of induſtry, and have conveyed life and activity to every branch of manufacture, flowed out of the kingdom with ſuch a rapid courſe, as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand, the artiſans of rival nations, encouraged by this quick ſale of their commodities, improved ſo much in ſkill and induſtry, as to be able to afford them at a rate ſo low, that the manufactures of Spain, which could not vie with theirs, either in quality or cheapneſs of work, were ſtill farther depreſſed. This deſtructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faſter and more completely, than even the extravagant ſchemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was ſo much aſtoniſhed and diſtreſſed, at beholding her American treaſures vaniſh almoſt as ſoon as they were imported, that Philip III. unable to ſupply what was requiſite in circulation, iſſued an edict, by which he endeavoured to raiſe copper money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of ſilver *; and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the laſt reſource of petty impoveriſhed ſtates.

THUS the poſſeſſions of Spain in America have not proved a ſource of population and of wealth to her, in the ſame manner as thoſe of other nations. In the countries of Europe, where the ſpirit of induſtry ſubſiſts in full vigour, every perſon ſettled in ſuch colonies, as are ſimilar in their ſituation to thoſe of Spain, is ſuppoſed to give employment to three or four at home in ſupplying his wants †. But wherever the mother-country

* Uztariz, c. 104. † Child on trade and colonies.

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country cannot afford this ſupply, every emigrant may be conſidered as a citizen loſt to the community, and ſtrangers muſt reap all the benefit of anſwering his demands.

Increaſed by the mode of regulating its intercourſe with America.

SUCH has been the internal ſtate of Spain from the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, and ſuch her inability to ſupply the growing wants of her colonies. The fatal effects of this diſproportion between their demands, and her capacity of anſwering them, have been much increaſed by the mode in which Spain has endeavoured to regulate the intercourſe between the mother country and the colonies. It is from her idea of monopolizing the trade with America, and debarring her ſubjects there from any communication with foreigners, that all her jealous and ſyſtematic arrangements have ariſen. Theſe are ſo ſingular in their nature and conſequences, as to merit a particular explanation. In order to ſecure the monopoly at which ſhe aimed, Spain did not veſt the trade with her colonies in an excluſive company, a plan which has been adopted by nations more commercial, and at a period when mercantile policy was an object of greater attention, and ought to have been better underſtood. The Dutch gave up the whole trade with their colonies, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to excluſive companies. The Engliſh, the French, the Danes, have imitated their example with reſpect to the Eaſt Indian commerce; and the two former have laid a ſimilar reſtraint upon ſome branches of their trade with the New World. The wit of man cannot, perhaps, deviſe a method for checking the progreſs of induſtry and population in a new colony more effectual than this. The intereſt of the colony, and the excluſive company, muſt in every point be diametrically oppoſite; and as the latter poſſeſſes ſuch advantages in this unequal conteſt, that it can preſcribe at pleaſure

the

the terms of intercourſe, the former muſt not only buy dear and ſell cheap, but ſuffer the mortification of having the increaſe of their ſurplus ſtock diſcouraged by thoſe very perſons to whom alone they are permitted to diſpoſe of it *.

This confined to one port in Spain.

SPAIN, it is probable, was preſerved from falling into this error in policy, by the high ideas which ſhe early formed concerning the riches of the New World. Gold and ſilver were commodities of too high value to veſt a monopoly of them in private hands. The crown wiſhed to retain the direction of a commerce ſo inviting; and in order to ſecure that, ordained that the cargo of every ſhip fitted out for America, ſhould be inſpected by the officers of the *Caſa de Contratacion* in Seville, before it could receive a licence to make the voyage; and that on its return, a report of the commodities which it brought ſhould be made to the ſame board, before it could be permitted to land them. In conſequence of this regulation, all the trade of Spain with the New World centred in the port of Seville, and was gradually brought into a form, in which it has been conducted, with little variation, from the middle of the ſixteenth century almoſt to our own times. For the greater ſecurity of the valuable cargoes ſent to America, as well as for the more eaſy prevention of fraud, the commerce of Spain with its colonies is carried on by fleets, which ſail under ſtrong convoys. Theſe fleets conſiſting of two ſquadrons, one diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Galeons*, the other by that of the *Flota*, are equipped annually. Formerly they took their departure from Seville; but as the port of Cadiz has been found more commodious, they have ſailed from it ſince the year 1720.

* Smith's Inquiry, ii. 171

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Carried on by the Galeons,

THE Galeons deſtined to ſupply Tierra Firmè, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almoſt every article of luxury, or neceſſary conſumption, that an opulent people can demand, touch firſt at Carthagena, and then at Porto-bello. To the former, the merchants of Santa Martha, Caraccas, the New Kingdom of Granada, and ſeveral other provinces reſort. The latter is the great mart for the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. At the ſeaſon when the Galeons are expected, the product of all the mines in theſe two kingdoms, together with their other valuable commodities, is tranſported by ſea to Panama. From thence, as ſoon as the appearance of the fleet from Europe is announced, they are conveyed acroſs the iſthmus, partly on mules, and partly down the river Chagree to Porto-bello. This paltry village whoſe climate, from the pernicious union of exceſſive heat, continual moiſture, and the putrid exhalations ariſing from a rank ſoil, is more fatal to life than any perhaps in the known world, is immediately filled with people. From being the reſidence of a few negroes and mulattoes, and of a miſerable garriſon relieved every three months, its ſtreets are crowded with opulent merchants from every corner of Peru, and the adjacent provinces. A fair is opened, the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe, and during its preſcribed term of forty days, the richeſt traffic on the face of the earth is begun and finiſhed, with that ſimplicity of tranſaction and unbounded confidence, which accompany extenſive commerce*.

and Flota.

The Flota holds its courſe to Vera Cruz. The treaſures and commodities of New Spain, and the depending provinces, which were depoſited at Los Angeles in expectation of its arrival, are carried thither,

* See NOTE XCIII.

thither, and the commercial operations of Vera Cruz, conducted in the same manner with those of Porto-bello, are inferior to them only in importance and value. Both fleets, as soon as they have completed their cargoes from America, rendezvous at the Havanna, and return in company to Europe.

Bad effect of this arrangement.

THE trade of Spain with her colonies, while thus fettered and restricted, came necessarily to be conducted with the same spirit, and upon the same principles, as that of an exclusive company. Being confined to a single port, it was of course thrown into a few hands, and almost the whole of it was gradually engrossed by a small number of wealthy houses, formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. These by combinations, which they can easily form, may altogether prevent that competition which preserves commodities at their natural price; and by acting in concert, to which they are prompted by their mutual interest, they may raise or lower their value at pleasure. In consequence of this, the price of European goods in America is always high, and often exorbitant. A hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent. are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies*. From the same ingrossing spirit it frequently happens, that traders of the second order, whose warehouses do not contain a complete assortment of commodities for the American market, cannot purchase from the more opulent merchants, such goods as they want, at a lower price than that for which they are sold in the colonies. With the same vigilant jealousy that an exclusive company guards against the intrusion of the free trader, those overgrown monopolists endeavour to check the progress of

* B. Ulloa Retab. part. ii. p. 191.

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every one whoſe encroachments they dread *. But this reſtraint of the American commerce to one port, not only affects its domeſtic ſtate, but limits its foreign operations. A monopoliſt may acquire more, and certainly will hazard leſs, by a confined trade which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extenſive commerce in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. It is often his intereſt not to enlarge, but to circumſcribe the ſphere of his activity; and inſtead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial induſtry, it may be the object of his attention to check and ſet bounds to them. By ſome ſuch maxim, the mercantile policy of Spain ſeems to have regulated its intercourſe with America. Inſtead of furniſhing the colonies with European goods in ſuch quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate; the merchants of Seville and Cadiz ſeem to have ſupplied them with a ſparing hand, that the eagerneſs of competition amongſt cuſtomers obliged to purchaſe in a ſcanty market, might enable their factors to diſpoſe of their cargoes with exorbitant gain. About the middle of the laſt century, when the excluſive trade to America from Seville was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the burden of the two united ſquadrons of the Galeons and Flota, did not exceed twenty-ſeven thouſand five hundred tons †. The ſupply which ſuch a fleet could carry muſt have been very inadequate to the demands of thoſe populous and extenſive colonies, which depended upon it for all the luxuries, and many of the neceſſaries of life.

Remedies propoſed.

SPAIN early became ſenſible of her declenſion from her former proſperity, and many reſpectable and

* Smith's Inquiry, ii. 171. Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 438.

† Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 435. ii. 110.

and virtuous citizens employed their thoughts in devising methods for reviving the decaying industry and commerce of their country. From the violence of the remedies proposed, we may judge how desperate and fatal the malady appeared. Some, confounding a violation of police with criminality against the state, contended, that in order to check illicit commerce, every person convicted of carrying it on, should be punished with death, and confiscation of all his effects *. Others, forgetting the distinction between civil offences and acts of impiety, insisted, that contraband trade should be ranked among the crimes reserved for the cognizance of the Inquisition; that such as were guilty of it might be tried and punished, according to the secret and summary form in which that dreadful tribunal exercises its jurisdiction †. Others, uninstructed by observing the pernicious effects of monopolies in every country where they have been established, have proposed to vest the trade with America in exclusive companies, whom interest would render the most vigilant guardians of the Spanish commerce against the encroachments of interlopers ‡. BOOK VIII.

Beside these wild projects, many schemes better digested, at first without effect, and more beneficial, were suggested. But under the feeble monarchs, with whom the reign of the Austrian line in Spain closed, incapacity and indecision are conspicuous in every department of government. Instead of taking for their model the active administration of Charles V. they affected to imitate the cautious procrastinating wisdom of Philip II. and destitute of his talents, they deliberated perpetually, but determined nothing. No remedy was applied

* M. de Santa Cruz Comercio Suelto, p. 142.
† Moncada Restauracion politica de Espagna, p. 41.
‡ Zavala y Augnon Representacion, &c. p. 190.

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applied to the evils under which the national commerce, domeſtic as well as foreign, languiſhed. Theſe evils continued to increaſe, and Spain, with dominions more extenſive and more opulent than any European ſtate, poſſeſſed neither vigour, nor money *, nor induſtry. At length, the violence of a great national convulſion rouzed the ſlumbering genius of Spain, and the efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war, kindled by the diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown at the beginning of this century, called forth in ſome degree, the ancient ſpirit and vigour of the nation. While men were forming, capable of adopting more liberal ſentiments, than thoſe which had influenced the councils of the monarchy during the courſe of a century, Spain derived from an unexpected ſource the means of availing itſelf of their talents. The various powers who favoured the pretenſions either of the Auſtrian or Bourbon candidate for the Spaniſh throne, ſent formidable fleets and armies to their ſupport. France, England and Holland remitted immenſe ſums to Spain. Theſe were ſpent in the provinces which became the theatre of war. Part of the American treaſure of which they had drained the kingdom, flowed back thither. From this æra, one of the moſt intelligent Spaniſh authors, dates the revival of the monarchy; and, however humiliating the truth may be, he acknowledges that it is to her enemies his country is indebted for the acquiſition of a fund of circulating ſpecie, in ſome meaſure adequate to the exigencies of the public †.

Steps towards improvement by the Bourbon monarch,

As ſoon as the Bourbons obtained quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, they diſcerned this change in the ſpirit of the people, and in the ſtate of the nation, and took advantage of it; for although that

* See NOTE XCIV. † Campomanes, i. 420.

that family has not given monarchs to Spain remarkable for ſuperiority of genius, they have all been beneficent princes, attentive to the happineſs of their ſubjects, and ſolicitous to promote it. It was, accordingly the firſt object of Philip V. to ſuppreſs an innovation which had crept in during the courſe of the war, and overturned the whole ſyſtem of the Spaniſh commerce with America. The Engliſh and Dutch, by their ſuperiority in naval power, having acquired ſuch command of the ſea, as to cut off all intercourſe between Spain and her colonies, Spain, in order to furniſh them thoſe neceſſaries of life, without which they could not exiſt, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treaſure, departed ſo far from the uſual rigour of its maxims, as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo, to whom Louis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce, engaged in it with vigour, and carried it on upon principles very different from thoſe of the Spaniards. They ſupplied Peru with European commodities at a more moderate price, and not in ſtinted quantity; the goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spaniſh America, in ſuch abundance as had never been known in any former period. If this intercourſe had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain muſt have ceaſed, and the dependance of the colonies on the mother-country have been at an end. The moſt peremptory injunctions were therefore iſſued, prohibiting the admiſſion of foreign veſſels into any port of Peru or Chili *, and a Spaniſh ſquadron was employed to clear the South Sea of intruders, whoſe aid was no longer neceſſary.

by excluding foreigners from trade with Peru;

1713.

But

* Frezier Voy. 256. B. Ulloa Retab. ii. 104, &c. Alcedo y Herrera Aviſo, &c. 236.

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by checking contraband trade,

particularly of the Engliſh Aſſiento company,

But though, on the ceſſation of the war, which was terminated by the treaty of Utrech, Spain obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial ſyſtem, ſhe was expoſed to another which ſhe deemed hardly leſs pernicious. As an inducement that might prevail with Queen Anne to conclude a peace which France and Spain deſired with equal ardour, Philip V. not only conveyed to Great Britain the *Aſſiento*, or contract for ſupplying the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of ſending annually to the fair of Porto-bello a ſhip of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In conſequence of this, Britiſh factories were eſtabliſhed at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spaniſh ſettlements. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the ſtate and tranſactions of her colonies was removed. The agents of a rival nation, reſiding in the towns of moſt extenſive trade, and of chief reſort, had the beſt opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of their provinces, of obſerving their ſtated and occaſional wants, and of knowing what commodities might be imported into them with the greateſt advantage. In conſequence of information ſo authentic and expeditious, the merchants of Jamaica, and other Engliſh colonies who traded to the Spaniſh main, were enabled to aſſort and proportion their cargoes, ſo exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility and to an extent unknown in any former period. This, however, was not the moſt fatal conſequence of the Aſſiento to the trade of Spain. The agents of the Britiſh South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authoriſed to make by the ſhip ſent annually to Porto-bello, poured in their commodities on the Spaniſh continent,

without

without limitation or reſtraint. Inſtead of a ſhip of five hundred tons, as ſtipulated in the treaty, they uſually employed one which exceeded nine hundred tons in burden. She was accompanied by two or three other ſmaller veſſels, which mooring in ſome neighbouring creek, ſupplied her clandeſtinely with freſh bales of goods to replace ſuch as were ſold. The inſpectors of the fair, and officers of the revenue, gained by exorbitant preſents, connived at the fraud *. Thus, partly by the operations of the company, and partly by the activity of private interlopers, almoſt the whole trade of Spaniſh America was ingroſſed by foreigners. The immenſe commerce of the Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, ſunk to nothing, and the ſquadron itſelf, reduced from fifteen thouſand to two thouſand tons †, ſerved hardly any purpoſe but to fetch home the royal revenue ariſing from the fifth on ſilver. 1737.

Guarda Coſtas employed for this purpoſe.

WHILE Spain obſerved thoſe encroachments, and felt ſo ſenſibly their pernicious effects, it was impoſſible not to make ſome effort to reſtrain them. Her firſt expedient was to ſtation ſhips of force, under the appellation of *Guarda Coſtas*, upon the coaſts of thoſe provinces, to which interlopers moſt frequently reſorted. As private intereſt concurred with the duty which they owed to the public, in rendering the officers who commanded them vigilant and active, ſome check was given to the progreſs of the contraband trade, though in dominions ſo extenſive, and ſo acceſſible by ſea, no number of cruizers was ſufficient to guard againſt its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourſe, which had been carried on with ſo much facility, that the merchants in the Britiſh colonies

* See NOTE XCV.

† Alcedo y Herrera, p. 359. Campomanes, i. 436.

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lonies were accuſtomed to conſider it almoſt as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs and complaints. Theſe authoriſed, in ſome meaſure, and rendered more intereſting, by ſeveral unjuſtifiable acts of violence committed by the captains of the Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas, precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain, by which the latter obtained a final releaſe from the Aſſiento, and was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies, without being reſtrained by any engagement with a foreign power.

1739.

The uſe of regiſter ſhips introduced.

As the formidable encroachments of the Engliſh on their American trade, had diſcovered to the Spaniards the vaſt conſumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occaſional demand of the various provinces, they perceived the neceſſity of deviſing ſome method of ſupplying their colonies, different from their ancient one, of ſending thither periodical fleets. This mode of communication was not only uncertain, as the departure of the Galeons and Flota was ſometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe, but was ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely ſupply of what it wanted. The ſcarcity of European goods in the Spaniſh ſettlements frequently became exceſſive; their price roſe to an enormous height; the vigilant eye of mercantile attention did not fail to obſerve this favourable opportunity, an ample ſupply was poured in by interlopers from the Engliſh, the French, and Dutch iſlands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets ſo glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for the commodities with which they were loaded. In order to remedy this, Spain permitted a conſiderable part of her commerce with Ameri-

ca,

ca, to be carried on by *regiſter ſhips*. Theſe are fitted out, during the intervals between the ſtated ſeaſons when the Galeons and Flota ſail, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a licence from the council of the Indies, for which they pay a very high premium, and are deſtined for thoſe ports where any extraordinary demand is foreſeen or expected. By this expedient, ſuch a regular ſupply of freſh commodities is conveyed to the American market, that the interloper is no longer allured by the ſame proſpect of exceſſive gain, or the people in the colonies urged by the ſame neceſſity to engage in the hazardous adventures of contraband trade.

The galeons aboliſhed.

In proportion as experience manifeſted the advantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of regiſter ſhips increaſed; and at length, in the year 1748, the Galeons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally aboliſhed. From that period there has been no intercourſe with Chili and Peru but by ſingle ſhips, diſpatched from time to time as occaſion requires, and when the merchants expect a market will open. Theſe ſail round Cape Horn, and convey directly to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people ſettled in thoſe countries were formerly obliged to repair to Porto-bello or Panama. Theſe towns, as has been formerly obſerved, muſt gradually decline, when deprived of that commerce to which they owed their exiſtence. This diſadvantage however is more than compenſated, for the whole continent of South America receives ſupplies of European commodities, with ſo much regularity, and in ſuch abundance, as muſt contribute greatly to the happineſs and proſperity of all the colonies ſettled there. But as all the regiſter ſhips deſtined for the South Seas, muſt ſtill take their departure from

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from Cadiz, and are obliged to return thither *, this branch of the American commerce, even in its new and improved form, continues ſubject to the reſtraints of a ſpecies of monopoly, and feels thoſe pernicious effects of it, which I have already deſcribed.

Schemes for reviving commerce.

NOR has the attention of Spain been confined to regulating the trade with its flouriſhing colonies, it has extended likewiſe to the reviving commerce in thoſe ſettlements where it was neglected, or had decayed. Among the new taſtes which the people of Europe have acquired, in conſequence of their intercourſe with the natives of thoſe countries which they conquered in America, that for chocolate is one of the moſt univerſal. The uſe of this liquor made with a paſte, formed of the nut, or almond of the cacao tree, compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards firſt learned from the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to the other European nations, ſo palatable, ſo nouriſhing, and ſo wholeſome, that it has become a commercial article of conſiderable importance. The cacao-tree grows ſpontaneouſly in ſeveral parts of the torrid zone; but the nuts of the beſt quality, next to thoſe of Guatimala, on the South Sea, are produced in the rich plains of Caraccas, a province of Tierra Firmè. In conſequence of this acknowledged ſuperiority in the quality of cacao in that province, and its communication with the Atlantic, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of the cacao there is more extenſive than in any diſtrict of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of the ſettlements in the ſmall iſlands of Curaçoa and Buen-Ayre, to the coaſt of Caraccas, gradually ingroſſed the greateſt part of the cacao trade. The traffic with the mother-country for this valuable commodity ceaſed almoſt

* Campomanes, i. 434. 440.

almoſt entirely; and ſuch was the ſupine negligence of the Spaniards, or the defects of their commercial arrangements, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies, at an exorbitant price. In order to remedy an evil no leſs diſgraceful, than pernicious to his ſubjects, Philip V. in the year 1728, granted to a body of merchants, an excluſive right to the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana, on condition of their employing, at their own expence, a ſufficient number of armed veſſels to clear the coaſt of interlopers. This ſociety diſtinguiſhed ſometimes by the name of the Company of Guipuſcoa, from the province of Spain in which it is eſtabliſhed, and ſometimes by that of the Company of Caraccas, from the diſtrict of America to which it trades, has carried on its operations with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce, which ſhe had ſuffered to be wreſted from her, and is plentifully ſupplied with an article of extenſive conſumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent ſtate, but the colony of Caraccas, has derived great advantages from this inſtitution; for although, at the firſt aſpect, it may appear to be one of thoſe monopolies, whoſe tendency is to check the ſpirit of induſtry, inſtead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner, by ſeveral ſalutary regulations, framed upon foreſight of ſuch bad effects, and on purpoſe to obviate them. The planters in the Caraccas are not left to depend entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities, or the ſale of their own productions. The inhabitants of the Canary Iſlands have the privilege of ſending thither annually a regiſter ſhip of conſiderable burden; and from Vera Cruz in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended in the charter of the company. In conſequence

by eſtabliſhing the company of Caraccas.

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conſequence of this, there is ſuch a competition, that both with reſpect to what the colonies purchaſe, and what they ſell, the price ſeems to be fixed at its natural and equitable rate. The company has not the power of raiſing the former, or degrading the latter at pleaſure; and accordingly, ſince it was eſtabliſhed, the increaſe of culture, of population, and of live ſtock, in the province of Caraccas has been very conſiderable *.

Enlargement of commercial ideas in Spain.

But as it is ſlowly that nations relinquiſh any ſyſtem which time has rendered venerable, or that commerce can be diverted from the channel in which it has long been accuſtomed to flow; Philip V. in his new regulations concerning the American trade, paid ſuch deference to the ancient maxim of Spain, concerning the limitation of all importation from the New World to one harbour, as to oblige both the regiſter ſhips which returned from Peru, and thoſe of the Guipuſcoan Company from Caraccas, to deliver their cargoes in the port of Cadiz. Since his reign, ſentiments more liberal and enlarged begin to ſpread in Spain. The ſpirit of philoſophical inquiry, which it is the glory of the preſent age to have turned from frivolous or abſtruſe ſpeculations, to the buſineſs and affairs of men, has extended its influence beyond the Pirennees. In the reſearches of ingenious authors, concerning the police or commerce of nations, the errors and defects of the Spaniſh ſyſtem with reſpect to both met every eye, and have not only been expoſed with ſeverity, but are held up as a warning to other ſtates. The Spaniards, ſtung with their reproaches, or convinced by their arguments, and admoniſhed by ſeveral enlightened writers of their own country, ſeem at length to have diſcovered the deſtructive tendency of thoſe narrow

* See NOTE XCVI.

narrow maxims, which, by cramping commerce in all its operations, have ſo long retarded its progreſs. It is to the monarch now on the throne, that Spain is indebted for the firſt public regulation formed in conſequence of theſe ideas. BOOK VIII.

Eſtabliſhment of regular packet boats.

WHILE Spain adhered with rigour to her ancient maxims concerning her commerce with America, ſhe was ſo much afraid of opening any channel, by which an illicit trade might find admiſſion into the colonies, that ſhe almoſt ſhut herſelf out from any intercourſe with them, but that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no eſtabliſhment for a regular communication of either public or private intelligence, between the mother-country and its American ſettlements. From the want of this neceſſary inſtitution, the operations of the ſtate, and the buſineſs of individuals, were retarded or conducted unſkilfully, and Spain often received from foreigners her firſt information with reſpect to very intereſting events in her own colonies. But though this defect in police was ſenſibly felt, and the remedy for it was obvious, that jealous ſpirit with which the Spaniſh monarchs guarded the excluſive trade, reſtrained them from applying it. At length Charles III. ſurmounted thoſe conſiderations which had deterred his predeceſſors, and in the year 1764, appointed packet-boats to be diſpatched on the firſt day of each month, from Corugna to the Havanna or Porto-Rico. From thence letters are conveyed in ſmaller veſſels to Vera Cruz and Portobello, and tranſmitted by poſt through the kingdoms of Tierra Firmè, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. With no leſs regularity packet-boats ſail once in two months to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the eaſt of the Andes. Thus proviſion is made for a ſpeedy and certain

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certain circulation of intelligence throughout the vaſt dominions of Spain, from which equal advantages muſt redound to the political and mercantile intereſt of the kingdom *. With this new arrangement, a ſcheme of extending commerce has been more immediately connected. Each of the packet-boats which are veſſels of ſome conſiderable burden, is allowed to take in half a loading of ſuch commodities as are the product of Spain, and moſt in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for theſe they may bring home to Corugna an equal quantity of American productions †. This may be conſidered as the firſt relaxations of thoſe rigid laws, which confined the trade with the New World to a ſingle port, and the firſt attempt to admit the reſt of the kingdom to ſome ſhare in it.

Free trade permitted to ſeveral provinces.

It was ſoon followed by one more deciſive. In the year 1765, Charles III. laid open the trade to the windward iſlands, Cuba, Hiſpaniola, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his ſubjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to ſail from certain ports in each of theſe ſpecified in the edict, at any ſeaſon, and with whatever cargo they deemed moſt proper, without any other warrant than a ſimple clearance from the cuſtom-houſe of the place whence they took their departure. He releaſed them from the numerous and oppreſſive duties impoſed on goods exported to America, and in place of the whole ſubſtituted a moderate tax of ſix in the hundred on the commodities ſent from Spain. He allowed them to return either to the ſame port, or to any other where they might hope for a more advantageous market, and there to enter the homeward cargoe, on payment of the uſual duties. This ample privilege which at

* Ponz Viage de Eſpagna, vi. Prol. p. 15.
† Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. p. 31.

*

once broke through all the fences, which the jealous policy of Spain had been labouring for two centuries and a half to throw round its commercial intercourſe with the New World, was ſoon after extended to Louiſiana, and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy *.

Beneficial effects of it.

THE propriety of this innovation, which may be conſidered as the moſt liberal effort of Spaniſh legiſlation, has appeared from its effects. Prior to the edict in favour of the free trade, Spain derived hardly any benefit from its neglected colonies in Hiſpaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. Its commerce with Cuba was inconſiderable, and that of Yucatan and Campeachy was ingroſſed almoſt entirely by interlopers. But as ſoon as a general liberty of trade was permitted, the intercourſe with thoſe provinces revived, and has gone on with a rapidity of progreſſion, of which there are few examples in the hiſtory of nations. In leſs than ten years, the trade of Cuba has been more than tripled. Even in thoſe ſettlements, where from the languiſhing ſtate of induſtry, greater efforts were requiſite to reſtore its activity, their commerce has been doubled. It is computed, that ſuch a number of ſhips is already employed in the free trade, that the tonnage of them far exceeds that of the Galeons and Flota, at the moſt flouriſhing æra of their commerce. The benefits of this arrangement are not confined to a few merchants, eſtabliſhed in a favourite port. They are diffuſed through every province of the kingdom; and by opening a new market for their various productions and manufactures, muſt encourage and add vivacity to the induſtry of the farmer and artificer.

* Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. 37. 54. 91.

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Nor does the kingdom profit only by what it exports, it derives advantage likewiſe from what it receives in return, and has the proſpect of being ſoon able to ſupply itſelf with ſeveral commodities of extenſive conſumption, for which it formerly depended on foreigners. The conſumption of ſugar in Spain is perhaps as great in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as that of any European kingdom. But though poſſeſſed of countries in the New World, whoſe ſoil and climate are moſt proper for rearing that valuable plant, though the domeſtic culture of the ſugar-cane in the kingdom of Granada was once conſiderable, ſuch has been the fatal tendency of its inſtitutions in America, and ſuch the preſſure of injudicious taxes in Europe, that Spain has loſt almoſt entirely this branch of induſtry, which has enriched other nations. This commodity, which has now become an article of primary neceſſity in Europe, the Spaniards were obliged to purchaſe of foreigners, and had the mortification to ſee their country drained annually of an immenſe ſum on that account *. But if that ſpirit, which the permiſſion of free trade has put in motion, ſhall perſevere in its efforts with the ſame vigour, the cultivation of ſugar in Cuba and Porto Rico, may increaſe ſo much, that in a few years their growth may be equal to the demand of the kingdom.

Free trade permitted between the colonies.

HER experience of the beneficial conſequences reſulting from having relaxed ſomewhat of the rigour of her ancient laws with reſpect to the commerce of the mother-country with the colonies, has induced Spain to permit a more liberal intercourſe of one colony with another. By one of the jealous maxims of the old ſyſtem, all communication between the various provinces ſituated on

* Uztariz, c. 94.

on the South Seas, was prohibited under the moſt ſevere penalties. Though each of theſe yield peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the happineſs of their reſpective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progreſs in induſtry, ſo ſolicitous was the Council of the Indies, to prevent their receiving any ſupply of their wants but by the periodical fleets from Europe; that in order to guard againſt this, it cruelly debarred the Spaniards in Peru, in New Spain, in Guatimala, and the New Kingdom of Granada, from ſuch a correſpondence with their fellow ſubjects, as tended manifeſtly to their mutual proſperity. Of all the numerous reſtrictions deviſed by Spain for ſecuring the excluſive trade with her American ſettlements, none perhaps was more illiberal, none ſeems to have been more ſenſibly felt, or to have produced more hurtful effects. This grievance, coeval with the ſettlements of Spain in the New World, is at laſt redreſſed. In the year 1774, Charles III. publiſhed an edict, granting to the four vaſt provinces which I have mentioned, the privilege of a free trade with each other *. What may be the effects of opening this communication between countries deſtined by their ſituation for reciprocal intercourſe, cannot yet be determined by experience. They can hardly fail of being beneficial and extenſive. The motives for granting this permiſſion are manifeſtly no leſs laudable, than the principle on which it is founded is liberal; and both diſcover the progreſs of a ſpirit in Spain far elevated above the narrow prejudices and maxims on which their ſyſtem for regulating the trade, and conducting the government of their colonies, was originally founded.

* Real Cedula penes me. Ponz. Viage de Eſpagna vi. Prologo, p. 2. NOTE XCVII.

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New regulations concerning the government of the colonies.

At the ſame time that Spain has been intent on introducing regulations, ſuggeſted by more enlarged views of policy, into her ſyſtem of American commerce, ſhe has not been inattentive to the interior government of her colonies. Here too there was much room for reformation and improvement, and Don Joſeph Galvez, who has now the direction of the department for Indian affairs in Spain, has enjoyed the beſt opportunities not only of obſerving the defects and corruption in the political frame of the colonies, but of diſcovering the ſources of thoſe evils. After being employed ſeven years in the New World on an extraordinary miſſion, and with very extenſive powers, as inſpector-general of New Spain, after viſiting in perſon the remote provinces of Cinaloa, Sonora, and California, and making ſeveral important alterations in the ſtate of their police and revenue; he began his miniſtry with a general reformation of the tribunals of juſtice in America. In conſequence of the progreſs of population and wealth in the colonies, the buſineſs of the Courts of Audience has encreaſed ſo much that the number of judges of which they were originally compoſed, has been found inadequate to the growing labours and duties of the office, and the ſalaries ſettled upon them, inferior to the dignity of the ſtation. As a remedy for both, he obtained a royal edict, eſtabliſhing an additional number of judges in each court of Audience, with higher titles and more ample appointments *.

Reformation of the courts of juſtice.

New diſtribution of governments.

To the ſame intelligent miniſter Spain is indebted for a new diſtribution of government in its American provinces. Even ſince the eſtabliſhment of a third viceroyalty in the New Kingdom

* Gazeta de Madrid, 19th of March, 1776.

dom of Granada, ſo prodigious is the extent of the Spaniſh dominions in the New World, that ſeveral places ſubject to the juriſdiction of each of the viceroys, were at ſuch an enormous diſtance from the capitals in which they reſided, that neither their attention, nor their authority, could reach them. Some provinces ſubordinate to the viceroy of New Spain, lay above two thouſand miles from Mexico. There are countries ſubject to the viceroy of Peru ſtill farther from Lima. The people in thoſe remote diſtricts, could hardly be ſaid to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppreſſion and inſolence of its inferior miniſters they often feel, and rather ſubmit to theſe in ſilence, than involve themſelves in the expence and trouble of reſorting to the diſtant capitals, where alone they can find redreſs. As a remedy for this, a fourth viceroyalty has been erected, to the juriſdiction of which are ſubjected the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos-Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potoſi, St^a. Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. By this well judged arrangement, two advantages are gained. All the inconveniences occaſioned by the remote ſituation of thoſe provinces, which had been long felt, and long complained of, are removed. The countries moſt diſtant from Lima are ſeparated from the vice-royalty of Peru, and united under a ſuperior, whoſe ſeat of government at Buenos Ayres will be commodious and acceſſible. The contraband trade with the Portugueſe, which was become ſo extenſive, as muſt have put a final ſtop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her ſouthern colonies, may be checked more thoroughly, and with greater facility, when the ſupreme magiſtrate, by his vicinity to the places in which it is carried on, can view its progreſs and effects with his own eyes. Don Pedro Zevallos, who has been raiſed to this new dignity, with appointments equal

New viceroyalty Auguſt 1776, on Rio de la Plata.

to

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to thoſe of the other viceroys, is well acquainted both with the ſtate and the intereſt of the countries over which he is to preſide, having ſerved in them long and with diſtinction. By this diſmemberment, ſucceeding that which took place at the erection of the vice-royalty of the New Kingdom of Granada, almoſt two-third parts of the territories originally ſubject to the vice-roys of Peru, are now lopped off from their juriſdiction.

New government in provinces of Sonora, &c.

THE limits of the vice-royalty of New Spain have likewiſe been conſiderably circumſcribed, and with no leſs propriety and diſcernment. Four of its moſt remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a ſeparate government. The Chevalier de Croix, who is intruſted with this command, is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank, but his juriſdiction and authority is altogether independent on the vice-royalty of New Spain. The erection of this laſt government ſeems to have been ſuggeſted, not only by the conſideration of the remote ſituation of thoſe provinces from Mexico; but by attention to the late diſcoveries made there, which I have mentioned *. Countries containing ſuch riches, and which probably may riſe into ſuch importance, required the immediate inſpection of a governor, to whom they were ſpecially committed. As every conſideration of duty, of intereſt, and of vanity, muſt concur in prompting thoſe new governors to encourage ſuch exertions as tend to diffuſe opulence and proſperity through the provinces committed to their charge, the beneficial effects of this arrangement may be conſiderable. Many diſtricts in America long depreſſed by the languor and feebleneſs natural to provinces which compoſe the extremities of an overgrown

* Book VII.

overgrown empire, may be animated with vigour and activity when brought so near the seat of power, as to feel its invigorating influence. BOOK VIII.

Attempts to reform domestic policy

SUCH, since the accession of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain, has been the progress of their regulations, and the gradual expansion of their views with respect to the commerce and government of their American colonies. Nor has their attention been so entirely engrossed by what related to the more remote parts of their dominions, as to render them neglectful of what was still more important, the reformation of domestic errors and defects in policy. Fully sensible of the causes to which the declension of Spain, from her former prosperity, ought to be imputed; they have made it a great object of their policy, to revive a spirit of industry among their subjects, and to give such extent and perfection to their manufactures, that they may be able to supply the demands of America from their own stock, and to exclude foreigners from a branch of commerce which has been so fatal to the kingdom. This they have endeavoured to accomplish, by a variety of edicts issued since the peace of Utrecht. They have granted bounties for the encouragement of some branches of industry; they have lowered the taxes on others; they have prohibited, or have loaded with additional duties, such foreign manufactures as come in competition with them; they have instituted societies for the improvement of trade and agriculture; they have planted colonies of husbandmen in some uncultivated districts of Spain, and divided among them the waste fields; they have had recourse to every expedient devised by commercial wisdom, or commercial jealousy, for reviving their own industry, and discountenancing that of other nations. These, however, it is not my province to explain,

BOOK VIII.

explain, or to inquire into their propriety and effects. There is no effort of legiſlation more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain, than an attempt to revive the ſpirit of induſtry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown. Nations already poſſeſſed of extenſive commerce, enter into competition with ſuch advantages, derived from the large capitals of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, the alertneſs acquired by habit in every department of buſineſs, that the ſtate which aims at rivalling, or ſupplanting them, muſt expect to ſtruggle with many difficulties, and be content to advance ſlowly. If the quantity of productive induſtry now in Spain, be compared with that of the kingdom under the liſtleſs monarchs of the Auſtrian line, its progreſs muſt appear conſiderable, and is ſufficient to alarm the jealouſy, and to call forth the moſt vigorous efforts of the nations now in poſſeſſion of the lucrative trade which the Spaniards aim at wreſting from them. One circumſtance may render thoſe exertions of Spain an object of more ſerious attention to the other European powers. They are not to be aſcribed wholly to the influence of the crown and its miniſters. The ſentiments and ſpirit of the people ſeem to ſecond the provident care of their monarchs, and to give it greater effect. They have adopted more liberal ideas, not only with reſpect to commerce, but domeſtic policy. In all their later writers, defects in their arrangements concerning both are acknowledged, and remedies propoſed, which pride would not have allowed their anceſtors to confeſs, and ignorance rendered them incapable of diſcerning *. But after all that the Spaniards have done, much remains to do. Many pernicious inſtitutions and abuſes deeply

* See NOTE XCVIII.

deeply incorporated with the ſyſtem of internal policy and taxation, which has been long eſtabliſhed in Spain, muſt be aboliſhed before induſtry and manufactures can recover an extenſive activity.

Contraband trade.

STILL, however, the commercial regulations of Spain with reſpect to her colonies, are too rigid and ſyſtematical to be carried into complete execution. The legiſlature that loads trade with impoſitions too heavy, or fetters it by reſtrictions too ſevere, defeats its own intention; and, in truth, is only multiplying the inducements to violate its ſtatutes, and propoſing an high premium to encourage illicit traffic. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, circumſcribed in their mutual intercourſe by the jealouſy, or oppreſſed by the exactions of the crown, have their invention continually on the ſtretch how to elude its edicts. The vigilance and ingenuity of private intereſt diſcover means of effecting this, which public wiſdom cannot foreſee, nor public authority prevent. This ſpirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain with America in all its branches; and from the higheſt departments in government, deſcends to the loweſt. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade, are often employed as inſtruments in carrying it on; and the boards inſtituted to reſtrain and puniſh it, are the channels through which it flows. The king is ſuppoſed to be defrauded by various artifices, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from America *; and as long as it is the intereſt of ſo many perſons to ſcreen thoſe artifices from detection, the knowledge of them will never reach the throne. "How "many ordinances, ſays Corita, how many in-"ſtructions,

* Solorz de Ind. jure, ij. lib. v.

BOOK VIII.

"ſtructions, how many letters from our ſove-
"reign, are ſent in order to correct abuſes, and how
"little are they obſerved, and what ſmall advan-
"tage is derived from them! To me the old
"obſervation appears juſt, that where there are
"many phyſicians, and many medicines, there
"is a want of health; where there are many
"laws, and many judges there is a want of juſtice.
"We have viceroys, preſidents, governors, oydors,
"corrigidors, alcades, and thouſands of algua-
"zils abound every where; but notwithſtanding
"all theſe, public abuſes continue to multiply *."
Time has increaſed the evils which he lamented as early as the reign of Philip II. A ſpirit of corruption has infected all the colonies of Spain in America. Men far removed from the ſeat of government, impatient to acquire wealth, that they may return ſpeedily from what they are apt to conſider as a ſtate of exile in a remote unhealthful country, allured by opportunities too tempting to be reſiſted, and ſeduced by the example of thoſe around them, find their ſentiments of honour and of duty gradually relax. In private life, they give themſelves up to a diſſolute luxury, while in their public conduct they become unmindful of what they owe to their ſovereign and their country.

Trade between New Spain and the Philippines.

BEFORE I cloſe this account of the Spaniſh trade in America, there remains one detached, but important branch of it, to be mentioned. Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, Philip II. formed a ſcheme of planting a colony in the Philippine iſlands, which had been neglected ſince the time of their diſcovery †; and he accompliſhed it by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain ‡. Manila, in the iſland of Luconia, was the

1564.

ſtation

* MS. penes me.
† Book V.
‡ Torquem. lib. v. c. 14.

ſtation choſen for the capital of this new eſtabliſhment. From it an active commercial intercourſe began with the Chineſe, and a conſiderable number of that induſtrious people, allured by the proſpect of gain, ſettled in the Philippines under the Spaniſh protection. They ſupplied the colony ſo amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the Eaſt, as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a courſe of navigation the longeſt from land to land on our globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao, on the coaſt of Peru; but experience having diſcovered many difficulties in this mode of communication, the ſtaple of this commerce between the eaſt and weſt was removed from Callao to Acapulco, on the coaſt of New Spain.

After various arrangements, it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ſhips depart annually from Acapulco, which may carry out ſilver to the amount of five hundred thouſand peſos *, but have hardly any thing elſe of value on board; in return for which, they bring back ſpices, drugs, china, and japan wares, callicoes, chintz, muſlins, ſilks, and every precious article with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people, have enabled the Eaſt to ſupply the reſt of the world. For ſome time the merchants of Peru were admitted to participate in this traffic, and might ſend annually a ſhip to Acapulco, to wait the arrival of the veſſels from Manila, and receive a proportional ſhare of the commodities which they imported. At length, the Peruvians were excluded by moſt rigorous edicts, and all the commodities from the Eaſt reſerved ſolely for the conſumption of New Spain.

In

* Recop. lib. ix. 2. 45. l. 6.

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In conſequence of this indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown in the other Spaniſh colonies. The manufactures of the Eaſt are not only more ſuited to a warm climate, and more ſhowy than thoſe of Europe, but can be ſold at a lower price; while at the ſame time, the profits upon them are ſo conſiderable, as to enrich all thoſe who are employed, either in bringing them from Manila, or vending them in New Spain. As the intereſt both of the buyer and ſeller concurred in favouring this branch of commerce, it continued to extend in ſpite of regulations, concerted with the moſt anxious jealouſy to circumſcribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, vaſt quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain *, and when the flota arrives at Vera Cruz, it often finds the wants of the people already ſupplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

There is not in the commercial arrangements of Spain, any circumſtance more inexplicable than the permiſſion of this trade between New Spain and the Philippines, or more repugnant to its fundamental maxim of holding the colonies in perpetual dependance on the mother-country, by prohibiting any commercial intercourſe that might ſuggeſt to them the idea of receiving a ſupply of their wants from any other quarter. This permiſſion muſt appear ſtill more extraordinary, from conſidering that Spain herſelf carries on no direct trade with her ſettlements in the Philippines, and grants a privilege to one of her American colonies, which ſhe denies to her ſubjects in Europe. It is probable, that the coloniſts which originally took poſſeſſion of the Philippines, having been ſent out from New Spain, began this intercourſe with a country

* See NOTE XCIX.

country which they conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as their parent ſtate, before the court of Madrid was aware of its conſequences, or could eſtabliſh regulations in order to prevent it. Many remonſtrances have been preſented againſt this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel, a large portion of that treaſure which ought to flow into the kingdom, as tending to give riſe to a ſpirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, againſt which it was impoſſible to guard, in tranſactions ſo far removed from the inſpection of government. But as it requires no ſlight effort of political wiſdom and vigour to aboliſh any practice, which numbers are intereſted in ſupporting, and to which time has added the ſanction of its authority, the commerce betwixt Acapulco and Manila ſeems to be as conſiderable as ever, and may be conſidered as one chief cauſe of the elegance and ſplendor conſpicuous in this part of the Spaniſh dominions.

Public revenue from America.

BUT notwithſtanding this general corruption in the colonies, and all the defalcations of the public revenue, by the illicit importation of foreign commodities, or by the fraudulent arts of its own ſubjects, the Spaniſh monarchs receive a very conſiderable ſum from their American dominions. This ariſes from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into three capital branches. The firſt contains what is paid to the king, as ſovereign, or ſuperior lord of the New World: to this claſs belongs the duty on the gold and ſilver raiſed from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians; the former is termed by the Spaniards the *right of ſigniority*, the latter is the *duty of vaſſalage*. The ſecond branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce, which accompany and oppreſs it in every ſtep of its progreſs, from the greateſt tranſactions of the wholeſale merchant, to the

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the petty traffic of the vender by retail. The third includes what accrues to the king, as head of the church, and adminiſtrator of eccleſiaſtical funds in the New World. In conſequence of this he receives the firſt fruits, annats, ſpoils, and other ſpiritual revenues levied by the apoſtolic chamber in Europe; and is entitled likewiſe, to the profit ariſing from the ſale of the bull of Cruzado. This, which is publiſhed every two years, contains an abſolution from paſt offences by the Pope, and, among other immunities, a permiſſion to eat ſeveral kinds of prohibited food, during Lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in diſperſing thoſe bulls, extol their virtues with all the fervour of intereſted eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, liſten with implicit aſſent; and every perſon in the Spaniſh colonies, of European, Creolian, or mixed race, purchaſes a bull, which is deemed eſſential to his ſalvation, at the rate ſet upon it by government *.

Its amount.

WHAT may be the amount of thoſe various funds, it is almoſt impoſſible to determine with preciſion. The extent of the Spaniſh dominions in America, the jealouſy of government, which renders them inacceſſible to foreigners, the myſterious ſilence which the Spaniards are accuſtomed to obſerve with reſpect to the interior ſtate of their colonies, combine in covering this ſubject with a veil which it is not eaſy to remove. But an account, apparently no leſs accurate, than it is curious, has lately been publiſhed of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form ſome idea with reſpect to what is collected in the other provinces. According to that account the crown does

* See NOTE C.

does not receive from all the departments of taxation in New Spain, above a million of our money, from which one half muſt be deducted as the expence of the provincial eſtabliſhment *. Peru, it is probable, yields a ſum not inferior to this, and if we ſuppoſe that all the other regions of America, including the iſlands, furniſh a third ſhare of equal value; we ſhall not perhaps be far wide from the truth, if we conclude, that the net public revenue of Spain, raiſed in America, does not exceed a million and a half ſterling. This falls far ſhort of the immenſe ſums, to which ſuppoſitions, founded upon conjecture, have raiſed the Spaniſh revenue in America †. It is remarkable, however, upon one account. Spain and Portugal are the only European powers, who derive a direct revenue from their colonies as their quota towards defraying the general expence of government. All the advantage that accrues to other nations, from their American dominions, ariſes from the excluſive enjoyment of their trade; but beſide this, Spain has brought her colonies to contribute to increaſe the power of the ſtate; and in return for protection, to bear a proportional ſhare of the common burden.

ACCORDINGLY, what I have computed as the amount of the Spaniſh revenue from America, comprehends only the taxes collected there, and is far from being the whole of what accrues to the king from his dominions in the New World. The heavy duties impoſed on the commodities exported from Spain to America ‡, as well as what is paid by thoſe which ſhe ſends home in return; the tax upon the negroe-ſlaves, with which Africa ſupplies the

* See NOTE CI. † See NOTE CII.
‡ See NOTE CIII.

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the New World, together with ſeveral ſmaller branches of finance, bring large ſums into the treaſury, the preciſe extent of which I cannot pretend to aſcertain.

Expence of adminiſtration.

But if the revenue which Spain draws from America be great, the expence of adminiſtration in her colonies bears proportion to it. In every department, even of her domeſtic police and finances, Spain has adopted a ſyſtem more complex, and more encumbered with a variety of tribunals, and a multitude of officers, than that of any European nation, in which the ſovereign poſſeſſes ſuch extenſive power. From the jealous ſpirit with which ſhe watches over her American ſettlements, and her endeavours to guard againſt fraud in provinces ſo remote from inſpection; boards and officers have been multiplied there with ſtill more anxious attention. In a country where the expence of living is great, the ſalaries allotted to every perſon in public office muſt be high, and muſt load the revenue with an immenſe burden. The parade of government greatly augments the weight of it. The viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and the New Kingdom of Granada, as repreſentatives of the king's perſon, among people fond of oſtentation, maintain all the ſtate and dignity of royalty. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horſe and foot guards, a houſehold regularly eſtabliſhed, numerous attendants, and enſigns of power, diſplaying ſuch pomp, as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All the expence incurred by ſupporting the external and permanent order of government is defrayed by the crown. The viceroys have beſides peculiar appointments ſuited to their exalted ſtation. The ſalaries fixed by law are indeed extremely moderate, that of the viceroy of Peru is only thirty thouſand ducats; and that of the viceroy

roy of Mexico twenty thouſand ducats *. Of late, they have been raiſed to forty thouſand. BOOK VIII.

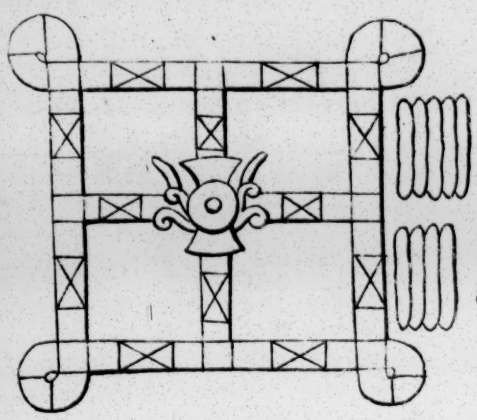
THESE ſalaries, however, conſtitute but a ſmall part of their revenue. The exerciſe of an abſolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of diſpoſing of many lucrative offices, affords to them innumerable opportunities of accumulating wealth. To theſe, which may be conſidered as legal and allowed emoluments, vaſt ſums are often added by exactions, which in countries ſo far removed from the ſeat of government, it is not eaſy to diſcover, and impoſſible to reſtrain. By monopolizing ſome branches of commerce, by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may raiſe ſuch an annual revenue, as no ſubject of any European monarch enjoys †. From the ſingle article of preſents made to him on the anniverſary of his *Name-day* (which is always obſerved as an high feſtival), I am informed that a viceroy has been known to receive ſixty thouſand peſos. According to a Spaniſh ſaying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are known, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conſcience. Conſcious of this, the kings of Spain, as I have formerly obſerved, grant a commiſſion to their viceroy only for a few years. This circumſtance, however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour wherewith they labour to improve every moment of power which they know is haſtening faſt to a period; and ſhort as its duration is, it uſually affords ſufficient time for repairing a ſhattered fortune, or creating a new one. But even in ſituations ſo trying to human frailty, there are inſtances of virtue that remain unſeduced. In the year 1772, the Marquis

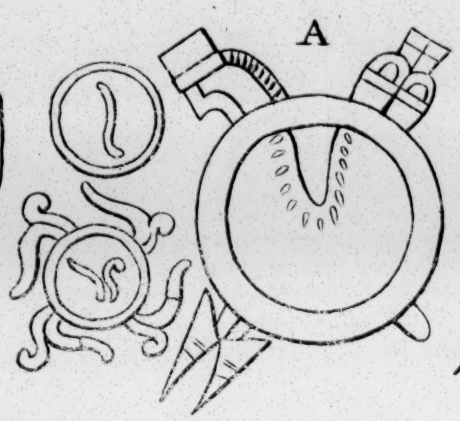
* Recop. lib. iii. tit. iii. c. 72. † See NOTE CIV.

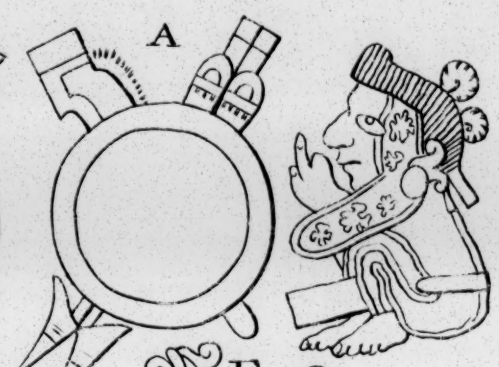
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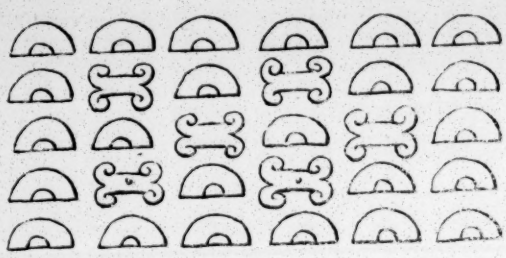
de Croix finiſhed the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unſuſpected integrity; and inſtead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applauſe of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

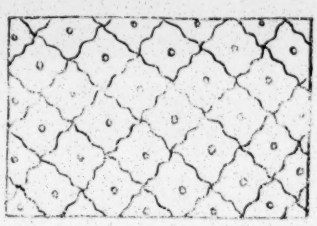
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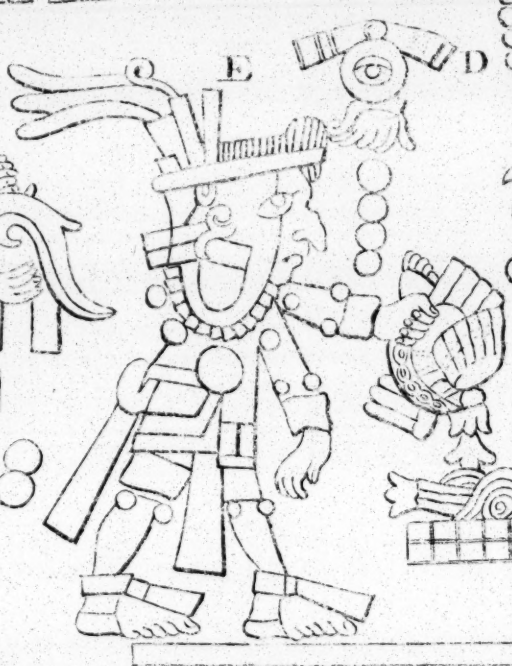

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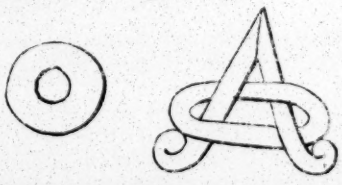

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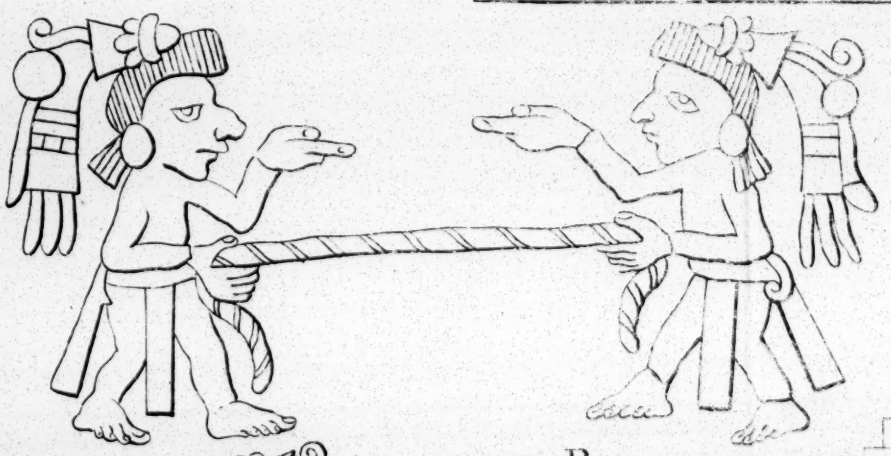

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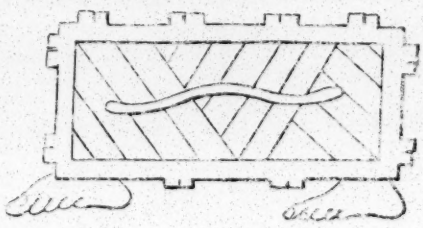




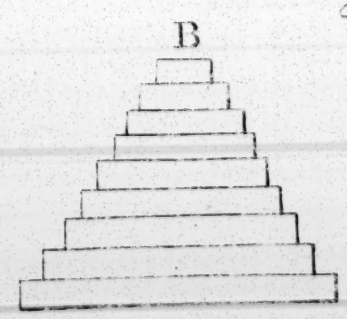


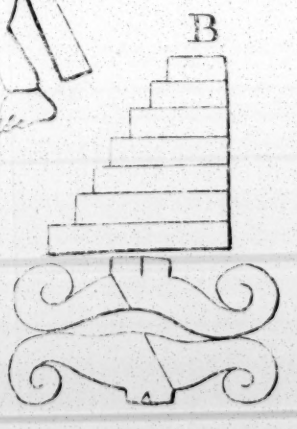


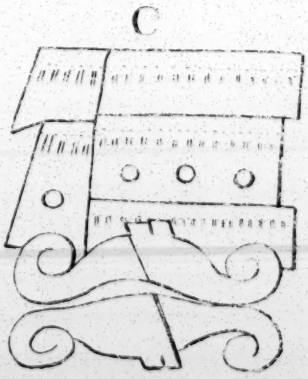


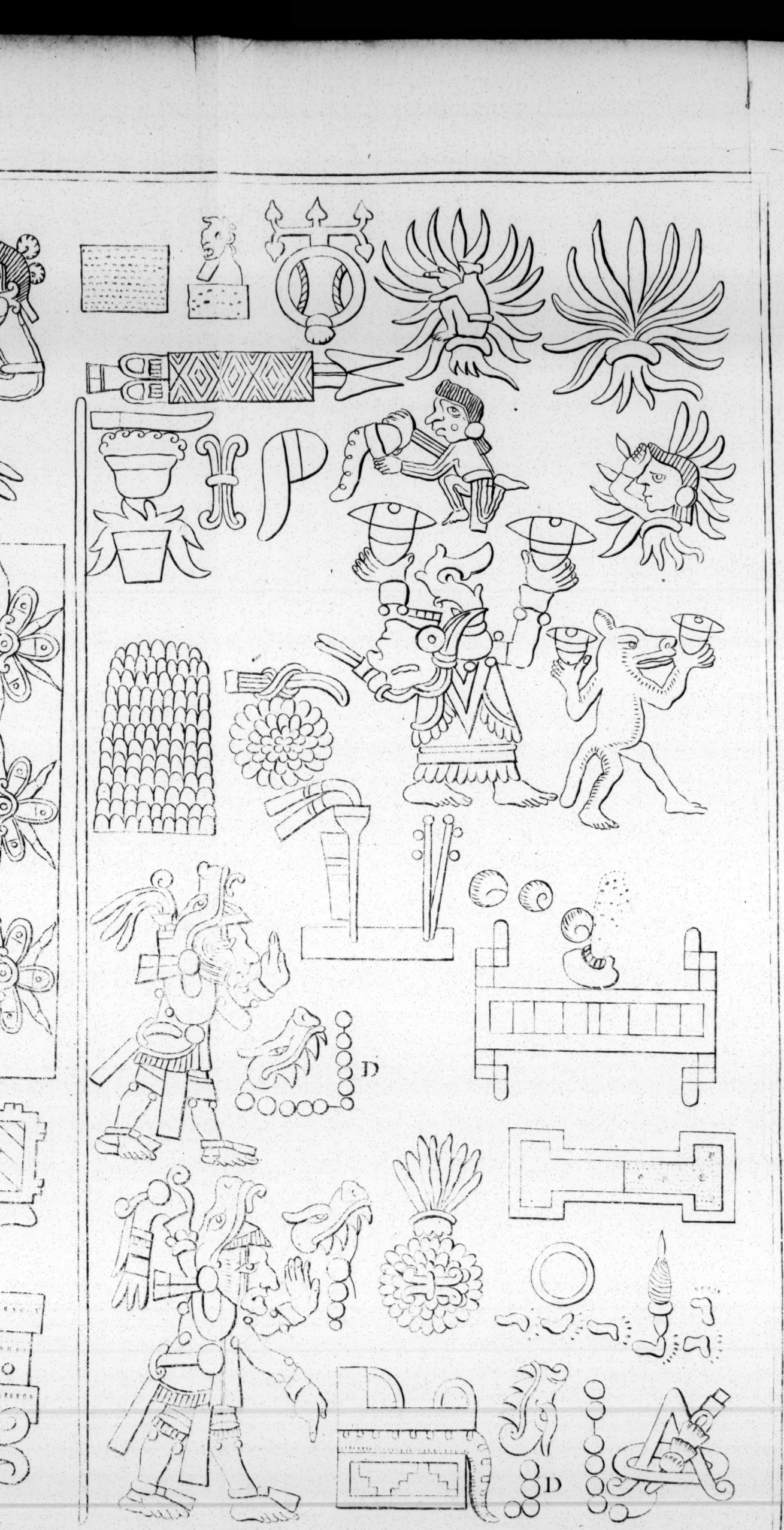





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ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE I. p. 1.

OUR knowledge of the events which happened in the conqueſt of New Spain, is derived from ſources of information more original and authentic than that of any tranſaction in the hiſtory of America. The letters of Cortes to the Emperor Charles V. are the moſt valuable of theſe, and the firſt in order of time. As Cortes early aſſumed a command independent of Velaſquez, it became neceſſary to convey ſuch an account of his operations to Madrid, as might procure him the approbation of his ſovereign.

THE firſt of his diſpatches has never been made public. It was ſent from Vera-Cruz, July 16, 1519. It muſt have come to the Emperor's hands while he was in Germany, as he left Spain on the 22d of May in that year, in order to receive the imperial crown. I have made diligent ſearch for a copy of this diſpatch, both in Spain and in Germany, but without ſucceſs. This, however, is of leſs conſequence, as it could not contain any thing very material, being written ſo ſoon after Cortes arrived in New Spain. The ſecond diſpatch, dated

October

October 30, 1520, was publiſhed at Seville, A. D. 1522, and the third and fourth ſoon after they were received. A Latin tranſlation of them appeared in Germany A. D. 1532. Ramuſio ſoon after made them more generally known, by inſerting them in his valuable collection. They contain a regular and minute hiſtory of the expedition, with many curious particulars concerning the policy and manners of the Mexicans. The work does honour to Cortes; the ſtyle is ſimple and perſpicuous; but as it was manifeſtly his intereſt to repreſent his own actions in the faireſt light, his victories are probably exaggerated, his loſſes diminiſhed, and his acts of rigour and violence ſomewhat ſoftened.

THE next in order is the Cronica de la Nueva Eſpagna, by Franciſco Lopez de Gomara, publiſhed A. D. 1554, Gomara's hiſtorical merit is conſiderable. His mode of narration is clear, flowing, always agreeable, and ſometimes elegant. But he is frequently inaccurate and credulous; and as he was the domeſtic chaplain of Cortes after his return from New Spain, and probably compoſed his work at his deſire, it is manifeſt that he labours to magnify the merit of his hero, and to conceal or extenuate ſuch tranſactions as were unfavourable to his character. Of this Herrera accuſes him in one inſtance, Dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 2. and it is not once only that this is conſpicuous. He writes, however, with ſo much freedom concerning ſeveral meaſures of the Spaniſh court, that the copies both of his Hiſtoria de las Indias, and of his Cronica, were called in by a degree of the council of the Indies, and they were long conſidered as prohibited books in Spain, though of late licence to print them has been granted. Pinelo Biblioth. 589.

THE Chronicle of Gomara induced Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo to compoſe his Hiſtoria Verdadera de la Conquiſta de la Nueva Eſpagna. He had been an adventurer in each of the expeditions to New Spain, and was the companion of Cortes in all his battles and perils. When he found that neither he himſelf nor many of his fellow-ſoldiers were once mentioned by Gomara, but that the fame of all their exploits

exploits was aſcribed to Cortes; the gallant old veteran laid hold of his pen with indignation, and compoſed his true hiſtory. It contains a prolix, minute, confuſed narrative of all Cortes's operations, in ſuch a rude vulgar ſtyle as might be expected from an illiterate ſoldier. But as he relates tranſactions of which he was witneſs, and in which he performed a conſiderable part, his account bears all the marks of authenticity, and is accompanied with ſuch a pleaſant *naiveté*, with ſuch intereſting details, with ſuch amuſing vanity, and yet ſo pardonable in an old ſoldier who had been (as he boaſts) in a hundred and nineteen battles, as renders his book one of the moſt ſingular that is to be found in any language.

PET. MARTYR ab Angleria in a Treatiſe de Inſulis nuper inventis, added to his Decades de rebus Oceanicis & novo orbe, gives ſome account of Cortes's expedition. But he proceeds no farther than to relate what happened after his firſt landing. This work, which is brief and ſlight, ſeems to contain the information tranſmitted by Cortes in his firſt diſpatches, embelliſhed with ſeveral particulars communicated to the author by the officers who brought the letters from Cortes.

BUT the book to which the greater part of modern hiſtorians have had recourſe for information concerning the conqueſt of New Spain, is Hiſtoria de la Conquiſta de Mexico, per D. Antonio de Solis, firſt publiſhed A. D. 1684. I know no author in any language whoſe literary fame has riſen ſo far beyond his real merit. De Solis is reckoned by his countrymen one of the pureſt writers in the Caſtilian tongue; and if a foreigner may venture to give his opinion concerning a matter of which Spaniards alone are qualified to judge, he is entitled to that praiſe. But, though his language be correct, his taſte in compoſition is far from being juſt. His periods are ſo much laboured as to be often ſtiff, and ſometimes tumid; the figures, which he employs by way of ornament, are trite or improper, and his obſervations ſuperficial. Theſe blemiſhes, however, might eaſily be overlooked, if he were not defective with reſpect to all the great qualities of an hiſtorian. Deſtitute of that patient induſtry in reſearch, which conducts to the knowledge of truth; a ſtranger to that impartiality which weighs evidence

dence with cool attention, and ever eager to eſtabliſh his favourite ſyſtem of exalting the character of Cortes into that of a perfect hero, exempt from error, and adorned with every virtue, he is leſs ſolicitous to diſcover what was true, than to relate what mght appear ſplendid. When he attempts any critical diſcuſſion, his reaſonings are fallacious, and founded upon an imperfect view of facts. Though he ſometimes quotes the *diſpatches* of Cortes, he ſeems not to have conſulted them; and though he ſets out with ſome cenſure on Gomara, he frequently prefers his authority, the moſt doubtful of any, to that of the other contemporary hiſtorians.

But of all the Spaniſh writers, Herrera furniſhes the fulleſt and moſt accurate information concerning the conqueſt of Mexico, as well as every other tranſaction in America. The induſtry and attention with which he conſulted not only the books, but the original papers and public records, which tended to throw any light upon the ſubject of his enquiries, were ſo great, and he uſually judges of the evidence before him with ſo much impartiality and candour, that his decads may be ranked among the moſt judicious and uſeful hiſtorical collections. If, by attempting to relate the various occurrences in the New World in a ſtrict chronological order, the arrangement of events in his work had not been rendered ſo perplexed, diſconnected, and obſcure, that it is an unpleaſant taſk to collect from different parts of his book, and piece together the detached ſhreds of a ſtory, he might juſtly have been ranked among the moſt eminent hiſtorians of his country. He gives an account of the materials from which he compoſed his work, Dec. vi. lib. iii. c. 19.

NOTE II. p. 3.

CORTES purpoſed to have gone in the train of Ovando when he ſet out for his government in the year 1502, but was detained by an accident. As he was attempting in a dark night to ſcramble up to the window of a lady's bed chamber, with whom he carried on an intrigue, an old wall, on the top of which he had mounted, gave way, and he was ſo much bruiſed by the fall as to be unfit for the voyage. Gomara, Cronica de la Nueva Eſpagna, cap. 1.

NOTE III. p. 5.

CORTES had two thouſand peſos in the hands of Andrew Duero, and he borrowed four thouſand. Theſe ſums are about equal in value to fifteen hundred pounds ſterling; but as the price of every thing was extremely high in America, they made but a ſcanty ſtock when applied in this manner. Herrera, Dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 2. B. Diaz. c. 20.

NOTE IV. p. 9.

THE names of thoſe gallant officers which will often occur in the ſubſequent ſtory, were Juan Velaſquez de Leon, Alonſo Hernandez Portocarrero, Franciſco de Montejo, Chriſtoval de Old, Juan de Eſcalante, Franciſco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Franciſco de Salceda, Juan de Eſcobar, Gines de Nortes. Cortes himſelf commanded the Capitana, or Admiral. Franciſco de Orozeo, an officer formed in the wars of Italy, had the command of the artillery. The experienced Alaminos acted as chief pilot.

NOTE

NOTE V. p. 11.

IN thoſe different conflicts, the Spaniards loſt only two men, but had a conſiderable number wounded. Though there be no occaſion for recourſe to any ſupernatural cauſe to account either for the greatneſs of their victories, or the ſmallneſs of their loſs, the Spaniſh hiſtorians fail not to aſcribe both to the patronage of St. Jago, the tutelar Saint of their country, who, as they relate, fought at the head of their countrymen, and by his proweſs gave a turn to the fate of the battle. Gomara is the firſt who mentions this apparition of St. James. It is amuſing to obſerve the embarraſſment of B. Diaz de Caſtillo, occaſioned by the ſtruggle between his ſuperſtition and his veracity. The former diſpoſed him to believe this miracle, the latter reſtrained him from affirming it. "I acknowledge, ſays he, that all our exploits and victories are owing to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and that in this battle there was ſuch a number of Indians to every one of us, that if each had thrown a handful of earth they might have buried us, if by the great mercy of God we had not been protected. It may be that the perſon whom Gomara mentions as having appeared on a mottled grey horſe, was the glorious apoſtle Signor St. Jago or Signor St. Pedro; and that I, as being a ſinner, was not worthy to ſee him. This I know, that I ſaw Franciſco de Morla on ſuch a horſe, but as an unworthy tranſgreſſor, did not deſerve to ſee any of the holy apoſtles. It may have been the will of God, that it was ſo as Gomara relates, but until I read his Chronicle I never heard among any of the conquerors that ſuch a thing had happened." Cap. 34.

NOTE VI. p. 16.

SEVERAL Spaniſh hiſtorians relate this occurrence in ſuch terms, as if they wiſhed it ſhould believed, that the Indians loaded with the preſents, had carried them from the capital in the ſame ſhort ſpace of time that the couriers performed that journey. This is incredible;

incredible; and Gomara mentions a circumſtance which ſhews, that nothing extraordinary happened on this occaſion. This rich preſent had been prepared for Grijalva, when he touched at the ſame place ſome months before, and was now ready to be delivered, as ſoon as Montezuma ſent orders for that purpoſe. Gomara, Cron. c. xxvii. p. 28.

ACCORDING to B. Diaz del Caſtillo, the value of the ſilver plate repreſenting the moon, was alone above twenty thouſand peſos, about five thouſand pounds ſterling.

NOTE VII. p. 22.

THIS private traffic was directly contrary to the inſtructions of Velaſquez, who enjoined, that whatever was acquired by trade ſhould be thrown into the common ſtock. But it appears, that the ſoldiers had each a private aſſortment of toys, and other goods proper for the Indian trade, and Cortes gained their favour by encouraging this underhand barter. B. Diaz, c. 41.

NOTE VIII. p. 32.

GOMARA has publiſhed a catalogue of the various articles of which this preſent conſiſted. Cron. c. 49. P. Martyr ab Angleria, who ſaw them after they were brought to Spain, and who ſeems to have examined them with great attention, gives a deſcription of each, which is curious, as it conveys ſome idea of the progreſs which the Mexicans had made in ſeveral arts of elegance. De inſulis nuper inventis liber, p. 354, &c.

NOTE IX. p. 38.

THERE is no circumſtance in the hiſtory of the conqueſt of America, which is more queſtionable than the account of the numerous armies brought into the field againſt the Spaniards. As the war with the Tlaſcalans,

calans, though of ſhort duration, was one of the moſt conſiderable which they waged in America, the account given of their forces merits ſome attention. The only authentic information concerning this is derived from three authors. Cortes, in his ſecond diſpatch to the emperor, dated at Segura de la Frontera, October 30, 1520, thus eſtimates the number of their troops: in the firſt battle 6000; in the ſecond battle 100,000: in the third battle 150,000. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 228. Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo, who was an eye witneſs, and engaged in all the actions of this war, thus reckons their numbers: in the firſt battle 3000, p. 43; in the ſecond battle 6000, ibid. in the third battle 50,000, p. 45. Gomara, who was Cortes's chaplain after his return to Spain, and publiſhed his *Cronica* in 1552, follows the computation of Cortes, except in the ſecond battle, where he reckons the Tlaſcalans at 80,000, p. 49. It was manifeſtly the intereſt of Cortes to magnify his own dangers and exploits. For it was only by the merit of extraordinary ſervices, that he could hope to atone for his irregular conduct, in aſſuming an independent command. Bern. Diaz, though abundantly diſpoſed to place his own proweſs, and that of his fellow-conquerors, in the moſt advantageous point of light, had not the ſame temptation to exaggerate; and it is probable, that his account of the numbers approaches nearer to the truth. The aſſembling of an army of 150,000 men requires many previous arrangements, and ſuch proviſion for their ſubſiſtence as ſeems to be beyond the foreſight of Americans. The degree of cultivation in Tlaſcala does not ſeem to have been ſo great, as to have furniſhed ſuch a vaſt army with proviſions. Though this province was ſo much better cultivated than other regions of New Spain, that it was called the *country of bread*, yet the Spaniards in their march ſuffered ſuch want, that they were obliged to ſubſiſt upon *Tunas*, a ſpecies of fruit which grows wild in the fields. Herrera, Dec. ii. lib. vi. c. 5. p. 182.

NOTE

NOTE X. p. 42.

THESE unhappy victims are ſaid to be perſons of diſtinction. It ſeems improbable that ſo great a number as fifty ſhould be employed as ſpies. So many priſoners had been taken and diſmiſſed, and the Tlaſcalans had ſent ſo many meſſages to the Spaniſh quarters, that there appears to be no reaſon for hazarding the lives of ſo many conſiderable people, in order to procure information about the poſition and ſtate of their camp. The barbarous manner in which Cortes treated a people unacquainted with the laws of war eſtabliſhed among poliſhed nations, appears ſo ſhocking to the later Spaniſh writers, that they diminiſh the number of thoſe whom he puniſhed ſo cruelly. Herrera ſays, that he cut off the hands of ſeven, and the thumbs of ſome more. Dec. ii. lib. ii. c. 8. De Solis relates, that the hands of fourteen or fifteen were cut off, and the thumbs of all the reſt. Lib. ii. c. 20. But Cortes himſelf, Relat. p. 228, b. and after him Gomara, c. 48, affirm, that the hands of all the fifty were cut off.

NOTE XI. p. 44.

THE horſes were objects of the greateſt aſtoniſhment to all the people of New Spain. At firſt they imagined the horſe and his rider, like the centaurs of the ancients, to be ſome monſtrous animal of a terrible form; and ſuppoſing, that their food was the ſame as that of men, brought fleſh and bread to nouriſh them. Even after they diſcovered their miſtake, they believed the horſes devoured men in battle, and when they neighed, thought that they were demanding their prey. It was not the intereſt of the Spaniards to undeceive them. Herrera, Dec. ii. lib. vi. c. 11.

NOTE XII. p. 49.

ACCORDING to Bart. de las Caſas, there was no reaſon for this maſſacre, and it was an act of wanton cruelty, perpetrated merely to ſtrike terror in the people of New Spain. Relac. de la Deſtruyc. p. 17, &c. But the zeal of Las Caſas often leads him to exaggerate. In oppoſition to him Bern. Diaz. c. 83, aſſerts, that the firſt miſſionaries ſent into New Spain by the emperor, made a judicial inquiry into this tranſaction; and having examined the prieſts and elders of Cholula, found that there was a real conſpiracy to cut off the Spaniards, and that the account given by Cortes was exactly true. As it was the object of Cortes at that time, and manifeſtly his intereſt, to gain the goodwill of Montezuma, it is improbable, that he would have taken a ſtep which tended ſo viſibly to alienate him from the Spaniards, if he had not believed it to be neceſſary for his own preſervation. At the ſame time, the Spaniards who ſerved in America had ſuch contempt for the natives, and thought them ſo little entitled to the common rights of men, that Cortes might hold the Cholulans as guilty upon ſlight and imperfect evidence. The ſeverity of the puniſhment was certainly exceſſive and atrocious.

NOTE XIII. p. 50.

THIS deſcription is taken almoſt literally from Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo, who was ſo unacquainted with the art of compoſition, as to be incapable of embelliſhing his narrative. He relates, in a ſimple and rude ſtyle, what paſſed in his own mind, and that of his fellow-ſoldiers on that occaſion; "and let it not be thought ſtrange, ſays he, that I ſhould write in this manner of what then happened: for it ought to be conſidered, that it is one thing to relate, another to have beheld things that were never before ſeen, or heard, or ſpoken of among men." Cap. 86. p. 64. b.

NOTE

NOTE XIV. p. 61.

B. Diaz del Caſtillo gives us ſome idea of the fatigue and hardſhips they underwent in performing this, and other parts of duty. During the nine months that they remained in Mexico, every man, without any diſtinction between officers and ſoldiers, ſlept on his arms, in his quilted jacket and gorget. They lay on mats, or ſtraw ſpread on the floor, and each was obliged to hold himſelf as alert as if he had been on guard. "This, adds he, became ſo habitual to me, that even now in my advanced age, I always ſleep in my cloaths, and never in any bed. When I viſit my *Encomienda*, I reckon it ſuitable to my rank, to have a bed carried along with my other baggage; but I never go into it, but, according to cuſtom, I lie in my cloaths, and walk frequently during the night in the open air, to view the ſtars as I was wont when in ſervice." Cap. 108.

NOTE XV. p. 63.

CORTES himſelf, in his ſecond diſpatch to the emperor, does not explain the motives which induced him either to condemn Qualpopoca to the flames, or to put Montezuma in irons. Ramuſ. iii. 236. B. Diaz is ſilent with reſpect to his reaſons for the former; and the only cauſe he aſſigns for the latter was, that he might meet with no interruption in executing the ſentence pronounced againſt Qualpopoca, c. xcv. p. 75. But as Montezuma was his priſoner, and abſolutely in his power, the inſult offered to that monarch could have no effect but to irritate him unneceſſarily. Gomara ſuppoſes, that Cortes had no other object than to occupy Montezuma with his own diſtreſs and ſufferings, that he might give leſs attention to what befel Qualpopoca. Cron. c. 89. Herrera adopts the ſame opinion. Dec. ii. lib. viii. c. 9. But it ſeems an odd expedient, in order to make a perſon bear one injury, to load him with another that is greater. De Solis imagines, that Cortes had nothing elſe in view than to intimidate Montezuma,

Montezuma, ſo that he might make no attempt to reſcue the victims from their fate; but the ſpirit of that monarch was ſo ſubmiſſive, and he had ſo tamely given up the priſoners to the diſpoſal of Cortes, that he had little to dread from him. If the explanation which I have attempted to give of Cortes's proceedings on this occaſion be not admitted, it appears to me, that they muſt be reckoned among the wanton and barbarous acts of oppreſſion which occur too often in the hiſtory of the conqueſt of America.

NOTE XVI. p. 67.

DE Solis aſſerts, lib. iv. c. 3. that the propoſition of doing homage to the King of Spain, came from Montezuma himſelf, and was made in order to induce the Spaniards to depart out of his dominions. He aſcribes his conduct on this occaſion, as if it had been founded upon a ſcheme of profound policy, and executed with ſuch refined addreſs, as to deceive Cortes himſelf. But there is no hint or circumſtance in the contemporary hiſtorians, Cortes, Diaz, or Gomara, to juſtify this theory. Montezuma, on other occaſions, diſcovered no ſuch extent of art and abilities. The anguiſh which he felt in performing this humbling ceremony is natural, if we ſuppoſe it to have been involuntary. But, according to the theory of De Solis, it would have been preposterous, and inconſiſtent with his own deſign of deceiving the Spaniards.

NOTE XVII. p. 69.

IN ſeveral of the provinces, the Spaniards, with all their induſtry and influence, could collect no gold. In others, they procured only a few trinkets of ſmall value. Montezuma aſſured Cortes, that the preſent which he offered to the King of Caſtile, after doing homage, conſiſted of all the treaſure amaſſed by his father; and told him, that he had already diſtributed the reſt of his gold and jewels among

among the Spaniards. B. Diaz. c. 104. Gomara relates, that all the ſilver collected amounted to 500 marks. Cron. c. 93. This agrees with the account given by Cortes, that the royal fifth of ſilver was 100 marks. Relat. 239. B. So that the ſum total of ſilver was only 4000 ounces, at the rate of eight ounces a mark, which demonſtrates the proportion of ſilver to gold to have been exceedingly ſmall.

NOTE XVIII. p. 70.

DE Solis, lib. iv. c. 1. calls in queſtion the truth of this tranſaction, from no better reaſon than that it was inconſiſtent with that prudence which diſtinguiſhes the character of Cortes. But he ought to have recollected the impetuoſity of his zeal at Tlaſcala, which was no leſs imprudent. He aſſerts, that the evidence for it reſts upon the teſtimony of B. Diaz del Caſtillo, of Gomara, and of Herrera. They all concur, indeed, in mentioning this inconſiderate ſtep which Cortes took, and they had good reaſon to do ſo; for Cortes himſelf relates this exploit in his ſecond diſpatch to the Emperor, and ſeems to glory in it. Cort. Relat. Ramuſ. iii. 104. D. This is one inſtance, among many, of De Solis's having conſulted with little attention the letters of Cortes to Charles V. from which the moſt authentic information with reſpect to his operations muſt be derived.

NOTE XIX. p. 74.

HERRERA and De Solis ſuppoſe, that Velaſquez was encouraged to equip this armament againſt Cortes, by the accounts which he received from Spain concerning the reception of the agents ſent by the colony of Vera Cruz, and the warmth with which Fonſeca biſhop of Burgos had eſpouſed his intereſt, and condemned the proceedings of Cortes. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ix. c. 18. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5. But the chronological order of events refutes this ſuppoſition. Portocarrero and Montejo ſailed from Vera Cruz July 26, 1519.

Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. c. 4. They landed at St. Lucar in October, according to Herrera, ibid. But P. Martyr, who attended the court at that time, and communicated every occurrence of moment to his correſpondents day by day, mentions the arrival of theſe agents, for the firſt time, in December, and ſpeaks of it as a recent event. Epiſt. 650. All the hiſtorians agree, that the agents of Cortes had their firſt audience of the emperor at Tordeſillas, when he went to that town to viſit his mother in his way to St. Jago de Compoſtella. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. c. 4. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5. But the emperor ſet out from Valladolid for Tordeſillas, on the 11th of March 1520; and P. Martyr mentions his having ſeen at that time the preſents made to Charles, Epiſt. 665. The armament under Narvaez ſailed from Cuba in April 1520. It is manifeſt then, that Velaſquez could not receive any account of what paſſed in this interview at Tordeſillas, previous to his hoſtile preparations againſt Cortes. His real motives ſeem to be thoſe which I have mentioned. The patent appointing him *Adelantado* of New Spain, with ſuch extenſive powers, bears date November 13, 1519. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 11. He might receive it about the beginning of January. Gomara takes notice, that as ſoon as this patent was delivered to him, he began to equip a fleet and levy forces. Cron. c. 96.

NOTE XX. p. 76.

DE Solis contends, that as Narvaez had no interpreters, he could hold no intercourſe with the people of the provinces, nor converſe with them in any way but by ſigns, and that it was equally impoſſible for him to carry on any communication with Montezuma. Lib. iv. c. 7. But it is upon the authority of Cortes himſelf that I relate all the particulars of Narvaez's correſpondence, both with Montèzuma and with his ſubjects in the maritime provinces. Relat. Ramuſ. iii. 244 A. C. Cortes affirms, that there was a mode of intercourſe between Narvaez and the Mexicans, but does not explain how it was carried on. Bernal Diaz ſupplies this

this defect, and informs us, that the three deſerters who joined Narvaez acted as interpreters, having acquired a competent knowledge of the language, c. 110. With his uſual minuteneſs, he mentions their names and characters, and relates, in chapter 122, how they were puniſhed for their perfidy. The Spaniards had now reſided above a year among the Mexicans; and it is not ſurpriſing, that ſeveral among them ſhould have made ſome proficiency in ſpeaking their language. This ſeems to have been the caſe. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. x. c. 1. Both B. Diaz, who was preſent, and Herrera, the moſt accurate and beſt informed of all the Spaniſh writers, agree with Cortes in his account of the ſecret correſpondence carried on with Montezuma. Dec. ii. lib. ix. c. 18, 19. De Solis ſeems to conſider it as a diſcredit to Cortes, his hero, that Montezuma ſhould have been ready to engage in a correſpondence with Narvaez. He ſuppoſes that monarch to have contracted ſuch a wonderful affection for the Spaniards, that he was not ſolicitous to be delivered from them. After the indignity with which he had been treated, ſuch an affection is incredible; and even De Solis is obliged to acknowledge, that it muſt be looked upon as one of the miracles which God wrought to facilitate the conqueſt, lib. iv. c. 7. The truth is, Montezuma, however much overawed by his dread of the Spaniards, was extremely impatient to recover his liberty.

NOTE XXI. p. 89.

THESE words I have borrowed from the anonymous Account of the European Settlements in America, publiſhed by Dodſley, in two volumes, 8vo. a work of ſo much merit, that I ſhould think there is hardly any writer in the age who ought to be aſhamed of acknowledging himſelf to be the author of it.

NOTE XXII. p. 95.

THE contemporary hiſtorians differ conſiderably with reſpect to the loſs of the Spaniards on this occaſion. Cortes, in his ſecond diſpatch to the emperor, makes the number only 150. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. p.

249, A. But it was manifeſtly his intereſt, at that juncture, to conceal from the court of Spain the full extent of the loſs which he had ſuſtained. De Solis, always ſtudious to diminiſh every misfortune that befel his countrymen, rates their loſs at about two hundred men. Lib. iv. c. 19. B. Diaz affirms, that they loſt 870 men, and that only 440 eſcaped from Mexico, c. 128, p. 108. b. Palafox, biſhop of Los Angeles, who ſeems to have inquired into the early tranſactions of his countrymen in New Spain, with great attention, confirms the account of B. Diaz with reſpect to the extent of their loſs. Virtudes del Indio, p. 22. Gomara ſtates their loſs at 450 men. Cron. c. 109. Some months afterwards, when Cortes had received ſeveral reinforcements, he muſtered his troops, and found them to be only 590. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. p. 255, E. Now, as Narvaez brought 880 men into New Spain, and about 400 of Cortes's ſoldiers were then alive, it is evident, that his loſs in the retreat from Mexico muſt have been much more conſiderable than what he mentions. B. Diaz, ſolicitous to magnify the dangers and ſufferings to which he and his fellow-conquerors were expoſed, may have exaggerated their loſs; but, in my opinion, it cannot well be eſtimated at leſs than 600 men.

NOTE XXIII. p. 113.

SOME remains of this great work are ſtill viſible, and the ſpot where the brigantines were built and launched, is ſtill pointed out to ſtrangers. Torquemada viewed them. Monarq. Indiana, vol. i. p. 531.

NOTE XXIV. p. 120.

THE ſtation of Alvarado on the cauſeway of Tacuba was the neareſt to the city. Cortes obſerves, that there they could diſtinctly obſerve what paſſed when their countrymen were ſacrificed. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. p. 273. E. B. Diaz, who belonged to Alvarado's diviſion, relates what he beheld with his own eyes. C. 152. p. 148, b. 149, a. Like a man whoſe courage was ſo clear as to be above ſuſpicion, he deſcribes,

deſcribes, with his uſual ſimplicity, the impreſſion which this ſpectacle made upon him. "Before, ſays he, I ſaw the breaſts of my companions opened, their hearts yet fluttering, offering to an accurſed idol, and their fleſh devoured by their exulting enemies, I was accuſtomed to enter a battle not only without fear, but with high ſpirit. But from that time I never advanced to fight the Mexicans without a ſecret horror and anxiety, my heart trembled at the thoughts of the death which I had ſeen them ſuffer." He takes care to add, that as ſoon as the combat began this terror went off; and, indeed, his adventurous bravery on every occaſion is full evidence of this. B. Diaz, c. 156. p. 157, a.

NOTE XXV. p. 125.

ONE circumſtance in this ſiege merits particular notice. The account which the Spaniſh writers give of the numerous armies employed in the attack or defence of Mexico, ſeems to be incredible. According to Cortes himſelf, he had at one time 150,000 auxiliary Indians in his ſervice. Relat. Ramuſ. iii. 275, E. Gomara aſſerts, that they were above 200,000. Cron. c. 136. Herrera, an author of higher authority, ſays, they were about 200,000. Dec. iii. lib. i. c. 19. None of the contemporary writers aſcertain explicitly the number of perſons in Mexico during the ſiege. But Cortes, on ſeveral occaſions, mentions the number of Mexicans who were ſlain, or who periſhed for want of food; and, if we may rely on thoſe circumſtances, it is probable, that above two hundred thouſand muſt have been ſhut up in the town. But the quantity of proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of ſuch vaſt multitudes aſſembled in one place during three months is ſo great, and it requires ſo much foreſight and arrangement to collect them, ſo as to be certain of a regular ſupply, that one can hardly believe that this could be accompliſhed in a country where agriculture was ſo imperfect as in the Mexican empire, where there were no tame animals, and by a people naturally ſo improvident, and

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ſo incapable of executing a complicated plan as the moſt improved Americans. The Spaniards, with all their care and attention, fared very poorly, and were often reduced to extreme diſtreſs from want of proviſions. B. Diaz, p. 142. Cortes Relat. 271. D. Cortes, on one occaſion, mentions ſlightly the ſubſiſtence of his army; and after acknowledging, that they were often in great want, adds, that they received ſupplies from the people of the country, of fiſh, and of ſome fruit, which he calls the cherries of the country, ibid. B. Diaz ſays, that they had cakes of maize, and ceraſas de la tierra; and when the ſeaſons of theſe was over, another fruit, which he calls *Tunas*; but their moſt comfortable ſubſiſtence was a root which the Indians uſe as food, to which he gives the name of *Quilites*; p. 142. The Indian auxiliaries had one means of ſubſiſtence more than the Spaniards. They fed upon the bodies of the Mexicans whom they killed in battle. Cort. Relat. 176, C. B. Diaz confirms his relation, and adds, that when the Indians returned from Mexico to their own country, they carried with them large quantities of the fleſh of the Mexicans ſalted or dried, as a moſt acceptable preſent to their friends, that they might have the pleaſure of feeding on the bodies of their enemies in their feſtivals, p. 157. De Solis, who ſeems to conſider it as an imputation of diſcredit to his countrymen, that they ſhould act in concert with auxiliaries who fed upon human fleſh, is ſolicitous to prove, that they endeavoured to prevent their aſſociates from eating the bodies of the Mexicans, lib. v. c. 24. But he has no authority for this from the original hiſtorians. Neither Cortes himſelf, nor B. Diaz, ſeem to have had any ſuch ſcruple; and, on many occaſions, mention the Indian repaſts, which were become familiar to them, without any mark of abhorrence. Even with this additional ſtock of food for the Indians, it was hardly poſſible to procure ſubſiſtence for armies amounting to ſuch numbers as we find in the Spaniſh writers. Perhaps, the beſt ſolution of the difficulty is, to adopt the opinion of B. Diaz del Caſtillo, the moſt artleſs of all the *Hiſtoriadores primitivos*. "When Gomara, ſays he, on ſome occaſions relates, that there were ſo many thouſand Indians our auxiliaries, and on others, that there were ſo many thouſand

thouſand houſes in this or that town, no regard is to be paid to his enumeration, as he has no authority for it, the numbers not being in reality the fifth of what he relates. If we add together the different numbers which he mentions, that country would contain more millions than there are in Caſtile." C. 129. But though ſome conſiderable deduction ſhould certainly be made from the Spaniſh accounts of the Mexican forces, they muſt have been very numerous; for nothing but an immenſe ſuperiority in number, could have enabled them to withſtand a body of nine hundred Spaniards, commanded by a general of ſuch abilities as Cortes.

NOTE XXVI. p. 138.

IN relating the oppreſſive and cruel proceedings of the conquerors of New Spain, I have not followed B. de las Caſas as my guide. His account of them, Relat. de la Deſtruyc. p. 18, &c. is manifeſtly exaggerated. It is from the teſtimony of Cortes himſelf and Gomara, who wrote under his eye, that I have taken my account of the puniſhment of the Panucans; and they relate it without any diſapprobation. B. Diaz, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, mentions it only in general terms, c. 162. Herrera, ſolicitous to extenuate this barbarous action of his countrymen, though he mentions 60 caziques, and 400 men of note, as being condemned to the flames, aſſerts, that thirty only were burned, and the reſt pardoned. Dec. iii. lib. v. c. 7. But this is contrary to the teſtimony of the original hiſtorians, particularly of Gomara, whom it appears he had conſulted, as he adopts ſeveral of his expreſſions in this paſſage. The puniſhment of Guatimozin is related by the moſt authentic of the Spaniſh writers. Torquemada has extracted from a hiſtory of Tezeuco, compoſed in the Mexican tongue, an account of this tranſaction, more favourable to Guatimozin than that of the Spaniſh authors. Mon. Indiana, i. 575. According to that account, Cortes had ſcarcely a ſhadow of evidence to juſtify ſuch a wanton act of cruelty. B. Diaz affirms, that Guatimozin and his fellow-ſufferers aſſerted their innocence

innocence with their laſt breath, and that many of the Spaniſh ſoldiers condemned this action of Cortes as equally unneceſſary and unjuſt, p. 200, b. 201, a.

NOTE XXVII. p. 140.

THE motive for undertaking this expedition was, to puniſh Chriſtoval de Olid, one of his officers who had revolted againſt him, and aimed at eſtabliſhing an independent juriſdiction. Cortes regarded this inſurrection as of ſuch dangerous example, and dreaded ſo much the abilities and popularity of its author, that in perſon he led the body of troops deſtined to ſuppreſs it. He marched, according to Gomara, three thouſand miles, through a country abounding with thick foreſts, rugged mountains, deep rivers, thinly inhabited, and cultivated only in a few places. What he ſuffered from famine, from the hoſtility of the natives, from the climate, and from hardſhips of every ſpecies, has nothing in hiſtory parallel to it, but what occurs in the adventures of the other diſcoverers and conquerors of the New World. Cortes was employed in this dreadful ſervice above two years: and though it was not diſtinguiſhed by any ſplendid event, he exhibited, during the courſe of it, greater perſonal courage, more fortitude of mind, more perſeverance and patience, than in any other period or ſcene in his life. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. vi, vii, viii, ix. Gomara Cron. c. 163—177. B. Diaz, 174—190.

NOTE XXVIII. p. 142.

ACCORDING to Herrera, the treaſure which Cortes brought with him, conſiſted of fifteen hundred marks of wrought plate, two hundred thouſand peſos of fine gold, and ten thouſand of inferior ſtandard, many rich jewels, one in particular worth forty thouſand peſos, and ſeveral trinkets and ornaments of value. Dec. iv. lib. iii. c. 8. lib. iv. c. 1. He afterwards engaged to give a portion with his daughter of a hundred thouſand peſos. Gomara Cron. c. 237. The fortune which

which he left his ſons was very conſiderable. But as we have before related, the ſum divided among the conquerors on the firſt reduction of Mexico was very ſmall. There appears then to be ſome reaſon for ſuſpecting that the accuſation of Cortes's enemies were not altogether deſtitute of foundation. They charged him with having unjuſtly applied to his own uſe a diſproportionate ſhare of the Mexican ſpoils; with having concealed the royal treaſures of Montezuma and Guatimozin, with defrauding the king of his fifth, and robbing his followers of what was due to them. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. viii. c. 15. dec. iv. lib. iii. c. 8. Some of the conquerors themſelves entertained ſuſpicions of the ſame kind. B. Diaz, c. 157.

NOTE XXIX. p. 147.

IN tracing the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms in New Spain, we have followed Cortes himſelf as our moſt certain guide. His diſpatches to the emperor contain a minute account of his operations. But the unlettered conqueror of Peru was incapable of relating his own exploits. Our information with reſpect to them is derived, however, from contemporary and reſpectable authors.

THE moſt early accounts of Pizarro's tranſactions in Peru, was publiſhed by Franciſco de Xerez, his ſecretary. It is a ſimple unadorned narrative, carried down no farther than the death of Atahualpa, in 1533; for the author returned to Spain in 1534, and ſoon after he landed, printed at Seville his ſhort Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Peru, addreſſed to the emperor.

DON Pedro Sancho, an officer who ſerved under Pizarro, drew up an account of his expedition, which was tranſlated into Italian by Ramuſio, and inſerted in his valuable collection, but has never been publiſhed in its original language. Sancho returned to Spain at the ſame time with Xerez. Great credit is due to what both thoſe authors relate concerning the progreſs and operations

operations of Pizarro, but the reſidence of the Spaniards in Peru had been ſo ſhort, at the time when they left it, and their intercourſe with the natives ſo ſlender, that their knowledge of the Peruvian manners and cuſtoms is very imperfect.

THE next contemporary hiſtorian is Pedro Cieza de Leon, who publiſhed his Chronica del Peru, at Seville in 1553. If he had finiſhed all that he propoſes in the general diviſion of his work, it would have been the moſt complete hiſtory which had been publiſhed of any region in the New World. He was well qualified to execute it, having ſerved during ſeventeen years in America, and viſited, in perſon, moſt of the provinces concerning which he had occaſion to write. But only the firſt part of his Chronicle has been printed. It contains a deſcription of Peru, and ſeveral of the adjacent provinces, with an account of the inſtitutions and cuſtoms of the natives, and is written with ſo little art, and ſuch an apparent regard for truth, that one muſt regret the loſs of the other parts of his work.

THIS loſs is amply ſupplied by Don Auguſtine Zarate, who publiſhed, in 1555, his Hiſtoria del deſcubrimiento y Conqueſta de la Provincia del Peru. Zarate was a man of rank and education, and employed in Peru as comptroller-general of the public revenue. His hiſtory, whether we attend to its matter or compoſition, is a book of conſiderable merit; as he had opportunity to be well informed, and ſeems to have been inquiſitive with reſpect to the manners and tranſactions of the Peruvians, great credit is due to his teſtimony.

DON Diego Fernandez publiſhed his Hiſtoria del Peru in 1571. His ſole object is to relate the diſſenſions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that empire. As he ſerved in a public ſtation in Peru, and was well acquainted both with the country, and with the principal actors in thoſe ſingular ſcenes which he deſcribes; as he poſſeſſed ſound underſtanding, and great impartiality, his work may be ranked among thoſe of the hiſtorians moſt diſtinguiſhed for their induſtry in reſearch, or their capacity in judging with reſpect to the events which they relate.

THE

THE laſt author who can be reckoned among the contemporary hiſtorians of the conqueſt of Peru, is Garcilaſſo de la Vega, Inca. For though the firſt part of his work entitled, *Commentarios Reaes del Origen de los Incas Reines del Peru*, was not publiſhed ſooner than the year 1609, ſeventy-ſix years after the death of Atahualpa the laſt emperor, yet, as he was born in Peru, and was the ſon of an officer of diſtinction among the Spaniſh conquerors, by a *Caya*, or lady of the royal race, on account of which he always took the name of *Inca*, as he was maſter of the language ſpoken by the Incas, and acquainted with the traditions of his countrymen, his authority is rated very high, and often placed above that of all the other hiſtorians. His work, however, is little more than a commentary upon the Spaniſh writers of the Peruvian ſtory, and compoſed of quotations taken from the authors whom I have mentioned. This is the idea which he himſelf gives of it, lib. i. c. 10. Nor is it in the account of facts only that he follows them ſervilely. Even in explaining the inſtitutions and rites of his anceſtors, his information ſeems not to be more perfect than theirs. His explanation of the Quipos is almoſt the ſame with that of Acoſta. He produces no ſpecimen of Peruvian poetry, but that wretched one which he borrows from Blas Valera, an early miſſionary, whoſe memoirs have never been publiſhed. Lib. ii. c. 15. As for compoſition, arrangement, or a capacity of diſtinguiſhing between what is fabulous, what is probable, and what is true, one ſearches for them in vain in the commentaries of Inca. His work, however, notwithſtanding its great defects, is not altogether deſtitute of uſe. Some traditions which he received from his countrymen are preſerved in it. His knowledge of the Peruvian language has enabled him to correct ſome errors of the Spaniſh writers, and he has inſerted in it ſome curious facts taken from authors whoſe works were never publiſhed, and are now loſt.

NOTE

NOTE XXX. p. 152.

ONE may form an idea both of the hardſhips which they endured, and of the ſicklineſs of the regions which they viſited, from the extraordinary mortality that prevailed among them. Pizarro carried out 112 men, Almagro 70. In leſs than nine months 130 of theſe died. Few fell by the ſword; moſt of them were cut off by diſeaſes. Xerez, p. 180.

NOTE XXXI. p. 155.

THIS iſland, ſays Herrera, is rendered ſo uncomfortable by the unwholeſomeneſs of its climate, its impenetrable woods, its rugged mountains, and the multitude of inſects and reptiles, that it is ſeldom any ſofter epithet than that of *infernal* is employed in deſcribing it. The ſun is almoſt never ſeen there, and throughout the year it hardly ever ceaſes to rain. Dec. iii. lib. x. c. 3. Dampier touched at this iſland in the year 1685; and his account of the climate is not more favourable. Vol. i. p. 172. He, during his cruize on that coaſt, viſited moſt of the places where Pizarro landed, and his deſcription of them throws light on the narrations of the early Spaniſh hiſtorians.

NOTE XXXII. p. 169.

BY this time horſes had multiplied greatly in the Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent. When Cortes began his expedition in the year 1518, though his armament was more conſiderable than that of Pizarro, and compoſed of perſons ſuperior in rank to thoſe who invaded Peru, he could procure no more than ſixteen horſes.

NOTE

NOTE XXXIII. p. 171.

IN the year 1740, D. Ant. Ulloa, and D. George Juan, travelled from Guayquil to Motupe, by the ſame route which Pizarro took. From the deſcription of their journey, one may form an idea of the difficulty of his march. The ſandy plains between St. Michael de Piura and Motupe extend 90 miles, without water, without a tree, a plant, or any green thing, on a dreary ſtretch of burning ſand. Voyage, tom. i. p. 399, &c.

NOTE XXXIV. p. 175.

THIS extravagant and unſeaſonable diſcourſe of Valverde has been cenſured by all hiſtorians, and with juſtice. But though he ſeems to have been an illiterate and bigotted monk, nowiſe reſembling the good Olmedo, who accompanied Cortes, the abſurdity of his addreſs to Atahualpa muſt not be charged wholly upon him. His harangue is evidently a tranſlation, or paraphraſe of that form, concerted by a junto of Spaniſh divines and lawyers in the year 1509, for explaining the right of their king to the ſovereignty of the New World, and for directing the officers employed in America how they ſhould take poſſeſſion of any new country. See Vol. i. Note xxiii. The ſentiments contained in Valverde's harangue muſt not then be imputed to the bigotted imbecility of a particular man, but to that of the age. Gomara and Benzoni relate one circumſtance concerning Valverde, which, if authentic, renders him an object not of contempt only, but of horror. They aſſert, that during the whole action, Valverde, continued to excite the ſoldiers to ſlaughter, calling to them to ſtrike the enemy not with the edge, but with the points of their ſwords. Gom. Cron. c. 113. Benz. Hiſtor. Nov. Orbis, lib. iii. c. 3. Such behaviour was very different from that of the Roman Catholic clergy in other parts of America, where they uniformly exerted their influence to protect the Indians, and to moderate the ferocity of their countrymen.

NOTE

NOTE XXXV. p. 176.

TWO different ſyſtems have been formed concerning the conduct of Atahualpa. The Spaniſh writers, in order to juſtify the violence of their countrymen, contend, that all the Inca's profeſſions of friendſhip were feigned; and that his intention in agreeing to an interview with Pizarro at Caxamalca, was to cut off him and his followers at one blow; that for this purpoſe he advanced with ſuch a numerous body of attendants, who had arms concealed under their garments to execute this ſcheme. This is the account given by Xerez and Zarate, and adopted by Herrera. But if it had been the plan of the Inca to deſtroy the Spaniards, one can hardly imagine that he would have permitted them to march unmoleſted through the deſert of Motupe, or have neglected to defend the paſſes in the mountains where they might have been attacked with ſo much advantage. If the Peruvians marched to Caxamalca with an intention to fall upon the Spaniards, it is inconceivable that of ſo great a body of men, prepared for action, not one ſhould attempt to make reſiſtance, but all tamely ſuffer themſelves to be butchered by an enemy whom they were armed to attack. Atahualpa's mode of advancing to the interview, has the aſpect of a peaceable proceſſion, not of a military enterprize. He himſelf, and his followers, were in their habits of ceremony, preceded, as on days of ſolemnity, by unarmed harbingers. Though rude nations are frequently cunning and falſe, yet, if a ſcheme of deception and treachery muſt be imputed either to a monarch, that had no great reaſon to be alarmed at a viſit from ſtrangers who ſolicited admiſſion into his preſence as friends, or to an adventurer ſo daring, and ſo little ſcrupulous as Pizarro, one cannot heſitate in determining where to fix the preſumption of guilt. Even amidſt the endeavours of the Spaniſh writers to palliate the proceedings of Pizarro, one plainly perceives, that it was his intention, as well as his intereſt, to ſeize the Inca, and that he had taken meaſures for that purpoſe, previous to any ſuſpicion of that monarch's deſign.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, extremely ſolicitous to vindicate his countrymen, the Peruvians, from the crime of having concerted the deſtruction of Pizarro and his followers, and no leſs afraid to charge the Spaniards with improper conduct towards the Inca, has framed another ſyſtem. He relates, that a man of majeſtic form with a long beard, and garments reaching to the ground, having appeared in viſion to Viracocha, the eighth Inca, and declared that he was a child of the Sun, that monarch built a temple in honour of this perſon, and erected an image of him, reſembling, as nearly as poſſible, the ſingular form in which he had exhibited himſelf to his view. In this temple divine honours were paid to him, by the name of Viracocha. P. i. lib. iv. c. 21. lib. v. c. 22. When the Spaniards firſt appeared in Peru, the length of their beards, and the dreſs they wore, ſtruck every perſon ſo much with their likeneſs to the image of Viracocha, that they ſuppoſed them to be children of the Sun, who had deſcended from heaven to earth. All concluded that the fatal period of the Peruvian empire was now approaching, and that the throne would be occupied by new poſſeſſors. Atahualpa himſelf, conſidering the Spaniards as meſſengers from heaven, was ſo far from entertaining any thoughts of reſiſting them, that he determined to yield implicit obedience to their commands. From thoſe ſentiments flowed his profeſſions of love and reſpect. To thoſe were owing the cordial reception of Soto and Ferdinand Pizarro in his camp, and the ſubmiſſive reverence with which he advanced to viſit the Spaniſh general in his quarters. But from the groſs ignorance of Philipillo, the interpreter, the declaration of the Spaniards, and his anſwer to it, were ſo ill explained, that by their mutual inability to comprehend each other's intentions, the fatal rencounter at Caxamalca, with all its dreadful conſequences, was occaſioned.

IT is remarkable that no traces of this ſuperſtitious veneration of the Peruvians for the Spaniards, are to be found either in Xerez, or Sancho, or Zarate, previous to the interview at Caxamalca; and yet the two former ſerved under Pizarro at that time, and the latter viſited Peru ſoon after the conqueſt. If either the Inca himſelf,

ſelf, or his meſſengers, had addreſſed the Spaniards in the words which La Vega put in their mouths, they muſt have been ſtruck with ſuch ſubmiſſive declarations; and they would certainly have availed themſelves of them to accompliſh their own deſigns with greater facility. La Vega himſelf, though his narrative of the intercourſe between the Inca and Spaniards, preceding the encounter at Caxamalca, is founded on the ſuppoſition of his believing them to be Viracochas, or divine beings, p. ii. lib. i. c. 17. &c. yet, with his uſual inattention and inaccuracy, he admits in another place, that the Peruvians did not recollect the reſemblance between them and the god Viracocha, until the fatal diſaſters ſubſequent to the defeat at Caxamalca, and then only began to call them Viracochas. P. i. lib. v. c. 21. This is confirmed by Herrera, dec. v. lib. ii. c. 12. In many different parts of America, if we may believe the Spaniſh writers, their countrymen were conſidered as divine beings who had deſcended from Heaven. But in this inſtance, as in many which occur in the intercourſe between nations, whoſe progreſs in refinement is very unequal, the ideas of thoſe who uſed the expreſſion, were different from the ideas of thoſe who heard it. For, ſuch is the idiom of the Indian languages, or ſuch is the ſimplicity of thoſe who ſpeak them, that when they ſee any thing with which they were formerly unacquainted, and of which they do not know the origin, they ſay that it came down from heaven. Nugnez. Ram. iii. 327, C.

THE account which I have given of the ſentiments and proceedings of the Peruvians, appears to be more natural and conſiſtent than either of the two preceding, and is better ſupported by the facts related by the contemporary hiſtorians.

ACCORDING to Xerez, p. 200, two thouſand Peruvians were killed. Sancho makes the number of the ſlain ſix or ſeven thouſand. Ram. iii. 274, D. By La Vega's account, five thouſand were maſſacred. P. ii. lib. i. c. 25. The number which I have mentioned, being the

the medium between the extremes, may probably be neareſt the truth.

NOTE XXXVI. p. 178.

NOTHING can be a more ſtriking proof of this, than that three Spaniards travelled from Caxamalca to Cuzco. The diſtance between them is ſix hundred miles. In every place throughout this vaſt extent of country, they were treated with all the honours which the Peruvians paid to their ſovereigns, and even to their divinities. Under pretext of amaſſing what was wanting for the ranſom of the Inca, they demanded the plates of gold with which the walls of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco were adorned; and though the prieſts were unwilling to alienate thoſe ſacred ornaments, and the people refuſed to violate the ſhrine of their God, the three Spaniards with their own hands robbed the Temple of part of this valuable treaſure; and ſuch was the reverence of the natives for their perſons, that though they beheld this act of ſacrilege with aſtoniſhment, they did not attempt to prevent or diſturb the commiſſion of it. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Sancho ap. Ramuſ. iii. 375, D.

NOTE XXXVII. p. 188.

ACCORDING to Herrera, the ſpoil of Cuzco, after ſetting apart the king's *fifth*, was divided among 480 perſons. Each received 4000 peſos. This amounts to 1,920,000 peſos. Dec. v. lib. vi. c. 3. But as the general, and other officers, were entitled to a part far greater than that of the private men, the ſum total muſt have riſen much beyond what I have mentioned. Gomara, c. 123. and Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. ſatisfy themſelves with aſſerting in general, that the plunder of Cuzco was of greater value than the ranſom of Atahualpa.

NOTE XXXVIII. p. 190.

NO expedition in the New World was conducted with more perſevering courage than that of Alvarado, and in none were greater hardſhips endured. Many of the perſons engaged in it were, like their leader, veterans who had ſerved under Cortes, inured to all the rigour of American war. Such of my readers as have not an opportunity of peruſing the ſtriking deſcription of their ſufferings by Zarate or Herrera, may form ſome idea of the nature of their march from the ſea coaſt to Quito, by conſulting the account which D. Ant. Ulloa gives of his own journey in 1736, nearly in the ſame route. Voy. tom. i. p. 178, &c. or that of M. Bouguer, who proceeded from Puerto Viejo to Quito, by the ſame road which Alvarado took. He compares his own journey with that of the Spaniſh leader, and, by the compariſon, gives a moſt ſtriking idea of the boldneſs and patience of Alvarado, in forcing his way through ſo many obſtacles. Voyage du Perou, p. xxviii. &c.

NOTE XXXIX. p. 191.

ACCORDING to Herrera, there were entered on the account of the king, in gold, 155,300 peſos, and 5400 marks (each 8 ounces) of ſilver, beſides ſeveral veſſels and ornaments, ſome of gold, and others of ſilver; on account of private perſons, in gold 499,000 peſos, and 54,000 marks of ſilver. Dec. v. lib. vi. c. 13.

NOTE XL. p. 198.

THE Peruvians had recourſe to other military arts than thoſe of the Spaniards. As the cavalry were the chief object of their terror, they endeavoured to render them incapable of acting, by throwing a long thong with a ſtone faſtened to each end. This twiſted about the horſe and its rider, entangled them ſo as to render them

them incapable of acting. Herrera mentions this as an invention of their own. Dec. v. lib. viii. c. 4. But as I have obſerved, vol. i. p. 375, this weapon is common among ſeveral barbarous tribes towards the extremity of South America; and it is more probable, that the Peruvians had obſerved the dexterity with which they uſed it in hunting, and on this occaſion adopted it themſelves. The Spaniards were conſiderably annoyed by it. Herrera, ibid. Another inſtance of the ingenuity of the Peruvians deſerves mention. By turning a river out of its channel, they overflowed a valley, in which a body of Spaniards was poſted, ſo ſuddenly, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they made their eſcape. Herrera, Dec. v. lib. viii. c. 5.

NOTE XLI. p. 215.

HERRERA's account of Orellana's voyage is the moſt minute, and apparently the moſt accurate. It was probably taken from the journal of Orellana himſelf. But the dates are not diſtinctly marked. His navigation down the Coca, or Napo, began early in February 1541; and he arrived at the mouth of the river on the 26th of Auguſt, having ſpent near ſeven months in the voyage. M. de la Condamine, in the year 1743, ſailed from Cuenca to Para, a ſettlement of the Portugueſe at the mouth of the river, a navigation much longer than that of Orellana, in leſs than four months. Voyage, p. 179. But the two adventurers were very differently provided for the voyage. This hazardous undertaking, to which ambition prompted Orellana, and to which the love of ſcience led M. de la Condamine, was undertaken in the year 1769, by Madame Godin des Odonais, from conjugal affection. The narrative of the hardſhips which ſhe ſuffered, of the dangers to which ſhe was expoſed, and of the diſaſters which befel her, is one of the moſt ſingular and affecting ſtories in any language, exhibiting in her conduct a ſtriking picture of the fortitude which diſtinguiſh the one ſex, mingled with the ſenſibility and tenderneſs peculiar to the other. Lettre de M. Godin, a M. de la Condamine.

NOTE XLII. p. 218.

HERRERA gives a ſtriking picture of their indigence. Twelve gentlemen, who had been officers of diſtinction under Almagro, lodged in the ſame houſe, and having but one cloak among them, it was worn alternately by him who had occaſion to appear in public, while the reſt, from the want of a decent dreſs, were obliged to keep within doors. Their former friends and companions were ſo much afraid of giving offence to Pizarro, that they durſt not entertain, or even converſe with them. One may conceive what was the condition, and what the indignation of men once accuſtomed to power and opulence, when they felt themſelves poor and deſpiſed, without a roof under which to ſhelter their heads, while they beheld others, whoſe merit and ſervices were not equal to theirs, living with ſplendor in ſumptuous edifices. Dec. vi. lib. viii. c. 6.

NOTE XLIII. p. 229.

HERRERA, the moſt accurate of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, aſſerts, that Gonzalo Pizarro poſſeſſed dominions in the neighbourhood of Chuquiſaca de la Plata, which yielded him an annual revenue greater than that of the archbiſhop of Toledo, the beſt endowed ſee in Europe. Dec. vii. lib. vi. c. 3.

NOTE XLIV. p. 241.

ALL the Spaniſh writers deſcribe his march, and the diſtreſſes of both parties very minutely. Zarate obſerves, that hardly any parallel to it occurs in hiſtory, either with reſpect to the length of the retreat, or the ardour of the purſuit. Pizarro, according to his computation, followed the viceroy upwards of three thouſand miles. Lib. v. c. 16. 26.

NOTE

NOTE XLV. p. 254.

IT amounted, according to Fernandez, the beſt informed hiſtorian of that period, to one million four hundred thouſand peſos. Lib. ii. c. 79.

NOTE XLVI. p. 255.

CARVAJAL, from the beginning, had been an advocate for an accommodation with Gaſca. Finding Pizarro incapable of holding that bold courſe which he originally ſuggeſted, he recommended to him a timely ſubmiſſion to his ſovereign as the ſafeſt meaſure. When the preſident's offers were firſt communicated to Pizarro, "By our Lady (ſaid he, in that ſtrain of buffoonry which was familiar to him) the prieſt iſſues gracious bulls. He gives them both good and cheap; let us not only accept of them, but wear them as reliques about our necks." Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 63.

NOTE XLVII. p. 260.

DURING the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, ſeven hundred men were killed in battle, and three hundred and eighty were hanged or beheaded. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. iv. c. 4. Above three hundred of theſe were cut off by Carvajal. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 91. Zarate makes the number of thoſe put to a violent death five hundred. Lib. vii. c. 1.

NOTE XLVIII. p. 267.

IN my inquiries concerning the manners and policy of the Mexicans, I have received much information from a large manuſcript of Don Alonſo de Corita, one of the judges in the Court of Audience of Mexico. In the year 1553, Philip II. in order that he might diſcover

ver the mode of levying tribute from his Indian ſubjects, that would be moſt beneficial to the crown, and leaſt oppreſſive to them, addreſſed a mandate to all the Courts of Audience in America, enjoining them to anſwer certain queries which he propoſed to them, concerning the ancient form of government eſtabliſhed among the various nations of Indians, and the mode in which they paid taxes to their kings, or chiefs. In obedience to this mandate, Corita, who had reſided nineteen years in America, fourteen of which he paſſed in New Spain, compoſed the work of which I have a copy. He acquaints his ſovereign, that he had made it an object during his reſidence in America, and in all its provinces which he had viſited, to enquire diligently into the manners and cuſtoms of the natives; that he had converſed, for this purpoſe, with many aged and intelligent Indians, and conſulted ſeveral of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, who underſtood the Indian languages moſtperfectly, particularly ſome of thoſe who landed in New Spain ſoon after the conqueſt. Corita appears to be a man of ſome learning, and to have carried on his inquiries with the diligence and accuracy to which he pretends. Greater credit is due to his teſtimony from one circumſtance. His work was not compoſed with a view to publication, or in ſupport of any particular theory, but contains ſimple, though full anſwers to queries propoſed to him officially. Though Herrera does not mention him among the authors whom he had followed as guides in his hiſtory, I ſhould ſuppoſe, from ſeveral facts of which he takes notice, as well as from ſeveral expreſſions which he uſes, that this memorial of Corita was not unknown to him.

NOTE XLIX. p. 276.

THE early Spaniſh writers were ſo haſty and inaccurate in eſtimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns of America, that it is impoſſible to aſcertain that of Mexico itſelf with any degree of preciſion. Cortes deſcribes the extent and populouſneſs of Mexico in general terms, which imply, that it was not

inferior

inferior to the greateſt cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houſes or families in Mexico. Chron. c. 78. Herrera adopts his opinion. Dec. ii. lib. vii. c. 33; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or ſcruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico muſt have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his uſual propenſity to the marvellous, aſſerts, that there were a hundred and twenty thouſand houſes or families in Mexico, and conſequently about ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire, by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramuſio, iii. 309, A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

NOTE L. p. 279.

IT is to P. Torribio de Benavente, that I am indebted for this curious obſervation. Palafox, biſhop of Los Angeles, confirms and illuſtrates it more fully. The Mexican (ſays he) is the only language in which a termination indicating reſpect, *ſilavas reverentiales y de corteſia*, may be affixed to every word. By adding the final ſyllable *zin* or *azin* to any word, it becomes a proper expreſſion of veneration in the mouth of an inferior. If, in ſpeaking to an equal, the word Father is to be uſed, it is *Tatl*; but an inferior ſays *Tatzin*. One prieſt ſpeaking to another, calls him *Teopixque*; a perſon of inferior rank calls him *Teopixcatzin*. The name of the emperor who reigned when Cortes invaded Mexico, was *Montezuma*, but his vaſſals, from reverence, pronounced it *Montezumazin*. Torribio, MS. Palaf. Virtudes del Indio, p. 65. The Mexicans had not only reverential nouns, but reverential verbs. The manner in which theſe are formed from the verbs in common uſe, is explained by D. Joſ. Aug. Aldama y Guevara in his Mexican Grammar, N°. 188.

NOTE

NOTE LI. p. 283.

FROM comparing ſeveral paſſages in Corita and Herrera, we may collect with ſome degree of accuracy, the various modes in which the Mexicans contributed towards the ſupport of government. Some perſons of the firſt order ſeem to have been exempted from the payment of any tribute, and, as their only duty to the public, were bound to perſonal ſervice in war, and to follow the banner of the ſovereign with their vaſſals. 2. The immediate vaſſals of the crown were bound not only to perſonal military ſervice, but paid a certain proportion of the produce of their lands in kind. 3. Thoſe who held offices of honour or truſt, paid a certain ſhare of what they received in conſequence of holding theſe. 4. Each *Capullee*, or aſſociation, cultivated ſome part of the common field allotted to it, for the behoof of the crown, and depoſited the produce in the royal granaries. 5. Some part of whatever was brought to the public markets, whether fruits of the earth, or the various productions of their artiſts and manufacturers, was demanded for the public uſe, and the merchants who paid this were exempted from every other tax. 6. The *Mayeques*, or *adſcripti glebæ*, were bound to cultivate certain diſtricts in every province, which may be conſidered as *crown lands*, and brought the increaſe into public ſtorehouſes. Thus the ſovereign received ſome part of whatever was uſeful or valuable in the country, whether it was the natural production of the ſoil, or acquired by the induſtry of the people. What each contributed towards the ſupport of government, ſeems to have been inconſiderable. Corita, in anſwer to one of the queries put to the Audience of Mexico, by Philip II. endeavours to eſtimate in money the value of what each citizen might be ſuppoſed to pay, and does not reckon it at more than three or four *reals*, about eighteen-pence or two ſhillings a head.

NOTE LII. p. 284.

CORTES, who ſeems to have been as much aſtoniſhed with this, as with any inſtance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular deſcription of it. Along one of the cauſeways,

cauſeways, ſays he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, compoſed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raiſed about ſix feet. In one of them is conveyed a ſtream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it ſupplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is neceſſary to clean, or repair the former, the ſtream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit paſſes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the cauſeway, through which the ſalt water of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and ſold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. 241, A.

NOTE LIII. p. 289.

IN the armory of the royal palace of Madrid, are ſhewn ſuits of armour, which are called Montezuma's. They are compoſed of thin lacquered copper-plates. In the opinion of very intelligent judges they are evidently eaſtern. The forms of the ſilver ornaments upon them, repreſenting dragons, &c. may be conſidered as a confirmation of this. They are infinitely ſuperior in point of workmanſhip to any effort of American art. The Spaniards probably received them from the Philippine iſlands. The only unqueſtionable ſpecimen of Mexican art that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup of very fine gold, which is ſaid to have belonged to Montezuma. It weighs 5 oz. 12 dwt. Three drawings of it were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, June 10, 1765. A man's head is repreſented on this cup. On one ſide the full face, on the other the profile, on the third the back parts of the head. The relievo is ſaid to have been produced by punching the inſide of the cup, ſo as to make the repreſentation of a face on the outſide. The features are rude, but very tolerable, and certainly too rude for Spaniſh workmanſhip. This cup was purchaſed by Edward earl of Orford, while he lay in the harbour of Cadiz with the fleet under his command, and is now in the poſſeſſion of his grandſon, Lord Archer. I am indebted for this

this information to my reſpectable and ingenious friend Mr. Barrington.

NOTE LIV. p. 290.

THE learned reader will perceive how much I have been indebted in this part of my work, to the guidance of the biſhop of Glouceſter, who has traced the ſucceſſive ſteps by which the human mind advanced in this line of its progreſs, with much erudition and greater ingenuity. He is the firſt, as far as I know, who formed a rational and conſiſtent theory concerning the various modes of writing practiſed by nations, according to the various degrees of their improvement. Div. Legation of Moſes, iii. 69, &c. Some important obſervations have been added by the learned and intelligent author of the Traite de la Formation Mechanique des Langues, tom. i. 295, &c.

As the Mexican paintings are the moſt curious monuments extant of the earlieſt mode of writing, it will not be improper to give ſome account of the means by which they were preſerved from the general wreck of every work of art in America, and communicated to the Public. For the moſt early and complete collection of theſe, publiſhed by Purchas, we are indebted to the attention of that curious inquirer, Hakluyt. Don Antonio Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, having deemed thoſe paintings a proper preſent for Charles V. the ſhip in which they were ſent to Spain, was taken by a French cruizer, and they came into the poſſeſſion of Thevet, the king's geographer, who having travelled himſelf into the New World, and deſcribed one of its provinces, was a curious obſerver of whatever tended to illuſtrate the manners of the Americans. On his death, they were purchaſed by Hakluyt, at that time chaplain of the Engliſh ambaſſador to the French court; and, being left by him to Purchas, were publiſhed at the deſire of the learned antiquary Sir Henry Spelman. Purchas, iii. 1065.

THE ſecond ſpecimen of Mexican picture-writing was publiſhed by Dr. Francis Gemelli Carreri, in two copper-plates. The firſt is a map, or repreſentation of the

the progreſs of the ancient Mexicans on their firſt arrival in the country, and of the various ſtations in which they ſettled, before they founded the capital of their empire in the lake of Mexico. The ſecond is a Chronological Wheel, or Circle, repreſenting the manner in which they computed and marked their cycle of fifty-two years. The former was given to him by D. Chriſtoval de Guadalajora, in the city of Los Angelos; the latter he received from Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongorra. But as it ſeems now to be a received opinion (founded I know not on what evidence) that Carreri was never out of Italy, and that his famous *Giro del Mundo*, is an account of a fictitious voyage, I have not mentioned theſe paintings in the text. They have, however, manifeſtly the appearance of being Mexican productions, and are allowed to be ſo by Boturini, who was well qualified to determine whether they were genuine or ſuppoſititious. The ſtyle of painting in the former is conſiderably more perfect than any other ſpecimen of Mexican deſign; but as the original is ſaid to have been much defaced by time, I ſuſpect that it has been improved by ſome touches from the hand of an European artiſt. Carerri, Churchil, iv. p. 487. The chronological wheel is a juſt delineation of the Mexican mode of computing time, as deſcribed by Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 2. It ſeems to reſemble one which that learned Jeſuit had ſeen; and if it be admitted as a genuine monument, it proves that the Mexicans had artificial, or arbitrary characters, which repreſented ſeveral things beſides numbers. Each month is there repreſented by a ſymbol expreſſive of ſome work or rite peculiar to it.

THE third ſpecimen of Mexican painting was diſcovered by another Italian. In 1736, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci ſet out for New Spain, and was led by ſeveral incidents to ſtudy the language of the Mexicans, and to collect the remains of their hiſtorical monuments. He perſiſted nine years in his reſearches, with the enthuſiaſm of a projector, and the patience of an antiquary. In 1746, he publiſhed at Madrid, *Idea de una Nueva Hiſtoria General de la America Septentrional*, containing an account of the reſult of his inquiries; and he added to it a catalogue of his American Hiſtorical Muſeum, arranged under thirty-ſix different heads. His idea of a New

New Hiſtory appears to me the work of a whimſical credulous man. But his catalogue of Mexican maps, paintings, tribute-rolls, calendars, &c. is amazing. Unfortunately a ſhip, in which he had ſent a conſiderable part of them to Europe, was taken by an Engliſh privateer in the war before laſt; and it is probable that they periſhed by falling into the hands of ignorant captors. Boturini himſelf incurred the diſpleaſure of the Spaniſh court, and died in an hoſpital at Madrid. The hiſtory, of which the *Idea*, &c. was only a *proſpectus*, was never publiſhed. The remainder of his Muſeum ſeems to have been diſperſed. Some part of it came into the poſſeſſion of the preſent archbiſhop of Toledo, when he was primate of New Spain, and he publiſhed from it that curious tribute-roll which I have mentioned.

THE only other collection of Mexican paintings, as far as I can learn, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. By order of their Imperial Majeſties, I have obtained ſuch a ſpecimen of theſe as I deſired, in eight paintings, made with ſuch fidelity, that I am informed the copies could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from the originals. According to a note in this *Codex Mexicanus*, it appears to have been a preſent from Emanuel King of Portugal to Pope Clement VII. who died A. D. 1533. After paſſing through the hands of ſeveral illuſtrious proprietors, it fell into thoſe of the cardinal of Saxe Eiſenach, who preſented it to the emperor Leopold. Theſe paintings are manifeſtly Mexican, but they are in a ſtyle very different from any of the former. An engraving has been made of one of them, in order to gratify ſuch of my readers as may deem this an object worthy of their attention. Were it an object of ſufficient importance, it might be poſſible, with ſome attention, by recourſe to the plates of Purchas, and the archbiſhop of Toledo, as a key, to form plauſible conjectures concerning the meaning of this picture. Many of the figures are manifeſtly ſimilar. A. A. are targets and darts, almoſt in the ſame form with thoſe publiſhed by Purchas, p. 1070, 1071, &c. B. B. are figures of temples, nearly reſembling thoſe which occur in Purchas, p. 1109 and 1113, and in Lorenzana, Plate II. C. is a bale of mantles, or cotton cloths, the figure of which occurs in almoſt every plate of Purchas

Purchas and Lorenzana. E. E. E. ſeem to be Mexican captains in their war dreſs, the fantaſtic ornaments of which reſemble the figures in Purchas, p. 1110, 1111, 1113. I ſhould ſuppoſe this picture to be a tribute-roll, as their mode of noting numbers occurs frequently. D. D. D. &c. According to Boturini, the mode of computation by the number of knots, was known to the Mexicans as well as to the Peruvians, p. 85; and the manner in which the number of units is repreſented in the Mexican paintings in my poſſeſſion, ſeems to confirm this opinion. They plainly reſemble a ſtring of knots on a cord or rope.

NOTE LV. p. 291.

THE firſt was called, the Prince of the deathful Lance; the ſecond, the Divider of Men; the third, the Shedder of Blood; the fourth, the Lord of the Dark-Houſe. Acoſta, Lib. vi. c. 25.

NOTE LVI. p. 297.

THE Temple of Cholula, which was deemed more holy than any in New Spain, was likewiſe the moſt conſiderable. But it was nothing more than a mount of ſolid earth. According to Torquemada, it was above a quarter of a league in circuit at the baſe, and roſe to the height of forty fathoms. Mon. Ind. Lib. iii. c. 19.

FROM inſpecting various figures of Temples, which occur in the paintings engraved by Purchas, there ſeems to be ſome reaſon for ſuſpecting that all their temples were conſtructed in the ſame manner. See vol. iii. p. 1109, 1110, 1113.

NOTE LVII. p. 298.

NOT only in Tlaſcala, and Tepeaca, but even in Mexico itſelf, the houſes of the people were mere huts built with turf, or mud, or the branches of trees. They were extremely low and ſlight, and without any furniture but a few earthen veſſels. Like the rudeſt Indians, ſeveral

ſeveral families reſided under the ſame roof, without having any ſeparate apartments. Herrera, Dec. ii. lib. vii. c. 13. lib. x. c. 22. Dec. iv. lib. iv. c. 17. Torquem, lib. iii. c. 23.

NOTE LVIII. p. 298.

I AM informed by a perſon who reſided long in New Spain, and viſited almoſt every province of it, that there is not, in all the extent of that vaſt empire, any monument, or veſtige of any building more ancient than the conqueſt, or of any bridge, or highway, except ſome remains of the cauſey from Guadaloupe to the gate of Mexico, by which Cortes entered the city. MS. *penes me.* The author of another account in manuſcript obſerves, "That at this day there does not remain even the ſmalleſt veſtige of the exiſtence of any antient Indian building, public or private, either in Mexico or in any province of New Spain. I have travelled, ſays he, through all the countries adjacent to them, viz. New Galicia, New Biſcay, New Mexico, Sonora, Cinaloa, the New Kingdom of Leon, and New Santandero, without having obſerved any monument worth notice, except the ruins near an ancient village in the valley *de Caſas Grandes*, in lat. N. 30°. 46. longit. 258°. 24. from the Iſland of Teneriffe, or 460 leagues N. N. W. from Mexico. He deſcribes this minutely; and it appears to have been a paltry building of turf and ſtone, plaiſtered over with white earth or lime. A miſſionary informed that gentleman, that he had diſcovered the ruins of another ſettlement ſimilar to the former, about a hundred leagues towards N. W. on the banks of the river St. Pedro. MS. *penes me.*

THOSE teſtimonies derive great credit from one circumſtance, that they were not given in ſupport of any particular ſyſtem or theory, but as ſimple anſwers to queries which I had propoſed. It is probable, however, that when theſe gentlemen aſſert no ruins or monuments of any ancient work whatever are now to be diſcovered in the Mexican Empire, they meant that there were no ſuch ruins or monuments, as conveyed any idea of grandeur

deur or magnificence, in the works of its ancient inhabitants. For it appears from the teſtimony of ſeveral Spaniſh authors, that in Otumba, Tlaſcala, Cholula, &c. ſome veſtiges of ancient buildings are ſtill viſible. Villa Segnor Theatro Amer. p. 143, 308, 353. D. Fran. Ant. Lorenzana, formerly archbiſhop of Mexico, and now of Toledo, in his introduction to that edition of the Cartas de Relacion of Cortes, which he publiſhed at Mexico, mentions ſome ruins which are ſtill viſible in ſeveral of the towns, through which Cortes paſſed in his way to the capital, p. 4. &c. But neither of theſe authors give any deſcription of them, and they ſeem to be ſo very inconſiderable, as to ſhew only that ſome buildings had once been there. The large mount of earth at Cholula, which the Spaniards dignified with the name of temple, ſtill remains, but without any ſteps by which to aſcend, or any facing of ſtone. It appears now like a natural mount, covered with graſs and ſhrubs, and poſſibly it was never any thing more. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 19. I have received a minute deſcription of the remains of a temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco. It is compoſed of large ſtones, fitted to each other as nicely as thoſe in the buildings of the Peruvians, which are hereafter mentioned. At the foundation it forms a ſquare of 25 yards; but as it riſes in height, it diminiſhes in extent, not gradually, but by being contracted ſuddenly at regular diſtances, ſo that it muſt have reſembled the figure B in the Plate. It terminated, it is ſaid, in a ſpire.

NOTE LIX. p. 303.

THE exaggeration of the Spaniſh Hiſtorians, with reſpect to the number of human victims ſacrificed in Mexico, appears to be very great. According to Gomara, there was no year in which twenty thouſand human victims were not offered to the Mexican Divinities, and in ſome years they amounted to fifty thouſand. Cron. c. 229. The ſkulls of thoſe unhappy perſons were ranged in order in a building erected for that purpoſe; and two of Cortes's officers, who had counted them, informed Gomara that their number was a hundred

dred and thirty ſix thouſand. Ibid. c. 82. Herrera's account is ſtill more incredible, that the number of victims was ſo great, that five thouſand have been ſacrificed in one day, nay, on ſome occaſions, no leſs than twenty thouſand. Dec. iii. lib. ii. c. 16. Torquemada goes beyond both in extravagance, for he aſſerts that twenty thouſand children, excluſive of other victims, were ſlaughtered annually. Mon. Ind. lib. vii. c. 21. The moſt reſpectable authority in favour of ſuch high numbers is that of Zumurraga, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, who, in a letter to the chapter general of his order, A. D. 1631, aſſerts that the Mexicans ſacrificed annually twenty thouſand victims. Davila. Teatro Eccleſ. 126. In oppoſition to all theſe accounts, B. de las Caſas obſerves, that if there had been ſuch an annual waſte of the human ſpecies, the country could never have arrived at that degree of populouſneſs, for which it was remarkable when the Spaniards firſt landed there; and he poſitively aſſerts, that the Mexicans never ſacrificed more than fifty or a hundred perſons in a year. See his diſpute with Sepulveda, ſubjoined to his Breviſſima Relacion, p. 105. Cortes does not ſpecify what number of victims was ſacrificed annually, but B. Daz del Caſtillo relates, that an inquiry having been made, with reſpect to this, by the Franciſcan Monks, who were ſent into New Spain immediately after the conqueſt, it was found that about two thouſand five hundred were ſacrificed every year in Mexico. c. 207.

NOTE LX. p. 304.

IT is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that the Peruvian Chronology is not only obſcure, but repugnant to concluſions deduced from the moſt accurate and extenſive obſervations, concerning the time that elapſes during each reign, in any given ſucceſſion of princes. The medium has been found not to exceed twenty years. According to Acoſta and Garcilaſſo de la Vega, Huana Capac, who died about the year 1527, was the twelfth Inca. The duration of the Peruvian monarchy ought not to have been reckoned above two hundred and forty years; but they affirm that it had ſubſiſted four hundred years. Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 19. Vega, lib. i. c. 9. By this account, each reign is extended at a medium to thirty

thirty three years, inſtead of twenty, the number aſcertained by Sir Iſaac Newton's obſervations; but ſo imperfect were the Peruvian traditions, that though the total is boldly marked, the number of years in each reign is unknown.

NOTE LXI. p. 310.

MANY of the early Spaniſh writers aſſert, that the Peruvians offered human ſacrifices. Xerez. p. 190. Zarate, lib. 1. c. 11. Acoſta, lib. v. c. 19. But Garcilaſſo de la Vega contends, that though this barbarous practice prevailed among their uncivilized anceſtors, it was totally aboliſhed by the Incas, and that no human victim was ever offered in any temple of the Sun. This aſſertion, and the plauſible reaſons with which he confirms it, are ſufficient to refute the Spaniſh writers, whoſe accounts ſeem to be founded entirely upon report, not upon what they themſelves had obſerved. Vega, lib. ii. c. 4. In one of their feſtivals, the Peruvians offered cakes of bread, moiſtened with blood drawn from the arms, the eye-brows, and noſes of their children. Id. lib. vii. c. 6. This rite ſeems to have been derived from their ancient practice.

NOTE LXII. p. 315.

THE Spaniards have adopted both thoſe cuſtoms of the antient Peruvians. They have preſerved ſome of the aqueducts or canals, made in the days of the Incas, and have made new ones, by which they water every field that they cultivate. Ulloa Voyage, tom. i. 422, 477. They likewiſe continue to uſe *guano*, or the dung of ſea-fowls, as manure. Ulloa gives a deſcription of the almoſt incredible quantity of it in the ſmall iſlands near the coaſt. Ibid. 481.

NOTE LXIII. p. 317.

THE temple of Cayambo, the palace of the Inca at Callo in the plain of Lacatunga, and that of Atun-Cannar, are deſcribed by Ulloa, tom. i. 286, &c. who inſpected them with great care. M. de Condamine publiſhed a curious memoir concerning the ruins of Atun-Cannar. Mem. de l'Academie de Berlin, A. D. 1746, p. 435.

p. 435. Acoſta deſcribes the ruins of Cuzco, which he had examined. Lib. vi. c. 14. Garcilaſſo, in his uſual ſtile, gives pompous and confuſed deſcriptions of ſeveral temples, and other public edifices. Lib. iii. c. i. 21. lib. vi. c. 4. Don ——— Zapata, in a large treatiſe concerning Peru, which has not hitherto been publiſhed, communicates ſome information with reſpect to ſeveral monuments of the antient Peruvians, which have not been mentioned by other authors. MS. *penes me*, Articulo xx. Ulloa deſcribes ſome of the antient Peruvian fortifications, which were likewiſe works of great extent and ſolidity. Tom. i. 391. Three circumſtances ſtruck all thoſe obſervers: the vaſt ſize of the ſtones which the Peruvians employed in ſome of their buildings. Acoſta meaſured one, which was thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and ſix in thickneſs; and yet, he adds, that in the fortreſs at Cuzco, there were ſtones conſiderably larger. It is difficult to conceive how the Peruvians could move theſe, and raiſe them to the height even of twelve feet. The ſecond circumſtance is, the imperfection of the Peruvian art, when applied to working in timber. By the patience and perſeverance natural to Americans, ſtones may be formed into any ſhape, merely by rubbing one againſt another, or by the uſe of hatchets or other inſtruments made of ſtone; but with ſuch rude tools, little progreſs can be made in carpentry. The Peruvians could not mortize two beams together, or give any degree of union, or ſtability to any work compoſed of timber. As they could not form a centre, they were totally unacquainted with the uſe of arches in building; nor can the Spaniſh authors conceive how they were able to frame a roof for thoſe ample ſtructures which they raiſed.

The third circumſtance is a ſtriking proof, which all the monuments of the Peruvians furniſh, of their want of ingenuity and invention, accompanied with patience no leſs aſtoniſhing. None of the ſtones employed in thoſe works were formed into any particular or uniform ſhape, that might render them fit for building. The Indians took them as they fell from the mountains, or were raiſed out of the quarries.

ries. Some were ſquare, ſome triangular, ſome convex, ſome concave. Their art and induſtry were employed in joining them together, by forming ſuch hollows in the one, as perfectly correſponded to the projections or riſings in the other. This tedious operation, which might have been ſo eaſily abridged, by adapting the ſurface of the ſtones to each other, either by rubbing, or by their hatchets of copper, would be deemed incredible, if it were not put beyond doubt by inſpecting the remains of thoſe buildings. It gives them a very ſingular appearance to an European eye. There is no regular layer or ſtratum of building, and no one ſtone reſembles another in dimenſions or form. At the ſame time, by the perſevering, but ill-directed induſtry of the Indians, all are joined with that minute nicety which I have mentioned. Ulloa made this obſervation concerning the form of the ſtones in the fortreſs of Atun-Cannar. Voy. i. p. 387. Pineto gives a ſimilar deſcription of the fortreſs of Cuzco, the moſt perfect of all the Peruvian works. Zapata MS. *penes me*. According to M. de Condamine, there were regular ſtrata of building in ſome parts of Atun-Cannar, which he remarks as ſingular, and proof of ſome progreſs in improvement.

NOTE LXIV. p. 320.

THE appearance of thoſe bridges, which bend with their own weight, wave with the wind, and are conſiderably agitated by the motion of every perſon who paſſes along them, is very frightful at firſt. But the Spaniards have found them to be the eaſieſt mode of paſſing the torrents of Peru, over which it would be difficult to throw more ſolid ſtructures either of ſtone or timber. They form thoſe hanging bridges ſo ſtrong and broad, that loaded mules paſs along them. All the trade of Cuzco is carried on by means of ſuch a bridge over the river Apurimac. Ulloa, tom. i. 358. A more ſimple contrivance was employed in paſſing ſmaller ſtreams: a baſket, in which the traveller was placed, being ſuſpended from a ſtrong rope ſtretched acroſs the ſtream, it was puſhed or drawn from one ſide to the other. Ibid.

NOTE LXV. p. 329.

MY information with reſpect to thoſe events is taken from *Noticia breve* de la expedicion militar de Sonora y Cinaloa, ſu exito feliz, y vantojoſo eſtado, en que por conſecuencia de ello, ſe han pueſto ambas provincias, publiſhed at Mexico, June 17th, 1771, in order to ſatisfy the curioſity of the merchants, who had furniſhed the viceroy with money for defraying the expence of the armament. The copies of this *Noticia* are very rare in Madrid; but I have obtained one which has enabled me to communicate theſe curious facts to the public. According to this account, there was found in the mine Yecorato, in Cinaloa, a grain of gold of twenty-two carats, which weighed ſixteen marks four ounces four ochavas; this was ſent to Spain as a preſent fit for the king, and is now depoſited in the royal cabinet at Madrid.

NOTE LXVI. p. 329.

THE uncertainty of geographers with reſpect to this point is remarkable; for Cortes ſeems to have ſurveyed its coaſts with great accuracy. The archbiſhop of Toledo has publiſhed, from the original, in the poſſeſſion of the Marquis del Valle, the deſcendant of Cortes, a map drawn in 1541, by the pilot Domingo Caſtillo, in which California is laid down as a peninſula, ſtretching out nearly in the ſame direction which is now given to it in the beſt maps; and the point where Rio Colorado enters the gulf is marked with preciſion. Hiſt. de Nueva Eſpagna, 327.

NOTE LXVII. p. 332.

I AM indebted for this fact to M. L'Abbe Raynal tom. iii. 103; and upon conſulting an intelligent perſon, who having been long ſettled on the Moſquito ſhore, has been engaged in the logwood trade, I find

that ingenious author has been well informed. The logwood cut near the town of St. Francis of Campeachy, is of much better quality than that on the other ſide of Yucatan, and the Engliſh trade in the Bay of Honduras is almoſt at an end.

NOTE LXVIII. p. 348.

P. Torribio de Benevente, or Motolinea, has enumerated ten cauſes of the rapid depopulation of Mexico, to which he gives the name of the ten plagues. Many of theſe are not peculiar to that province. 1. The introduction of the ſmall-pox. This diſeaſe was firſt brought into New Spain in the year 1520, by a negroe ſlave, who attended Narvaez. Torribio affirms, that one half of the people, in the provinces viſited with this diſtemper, died. To this mortality occaſioned by the ſmall pox, Torquemada adds the deſtructive effects of two contagious diſtempers which raged in the years 1545 and 1576. In the former 800,000, in the latter above two millions periſhed, according to an exact account taken by order of the viceroys. Mon. Ind. i. 642. The ſmall-pox were not introduced into Peru for ſeveral years after the invaſion of the Spaniards, but proved very fatal to the natives. Garcia Origen, p. 88. 2. The numbers who were killed, or died of famine in their war with the Spaniards, particularly during the ſiege of Mexico. 3. The great famine that followed after the reduction of Mexico, as all the people engaged, either on one ſide or other, had neglected the cultivation of their lands. Something ſimilar to this happened in all the other countries conquered by the Spaniards. 4. The grievous taſks impoſed by the Spaniards upon the people belonging to the Repartimientos. 5. The oppreſſive burden of taxes, which they were unable to pay, and from which they could hope for no exemption. 6. The numbers employed in collecting the gold, carried down by the torrents from the mountains, who were forced from their own habitations, without any proviſion made for their ſubſiſtence, and ſubjected to all the rigour of cold in thoſe elevated regions. 7. The immenſe labour of rebuilding Mexico, which

which Cortes urged on with ſuch precipitate ardour, as deſtroyed an incredible number of people. 8. The number of people condemned to ſervitude, under various pretexts, and employed in working the ſilver mines. Theſe, marked by each proprietor with a hot iron, like his cattle, were driven in herds to the mountains. 9. The nature of the labour to which they were ſubjected there, the noxious vapours of the mines, the coldneſs of the climate, and ſcarcity of food were ſo fatal, that Torribio affirms, the country round ſeveral of thoſe mines, particularly near Guaxago, was covered with dead bodies, the air corrupted with their ſtench, and ſo many vultures, and other voracious birds, hovered about for their prey, that the ſun was darkened with their flight. 10. The Spaniards, in the different expeditions which they undertook, and by the civil wars which they carried on, deſtroyed many of the natives, whom they compelled to ſerve them as *Tamemes* or carriers of burdens. This laſt mode of oppreſſion was particularly ruinous to the Peruvians. From the number of Indians who periſhed in Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into the countries to the eaſt of the Andes, one may form ſome idea of what they ſuffered, and how faſt they waſted. Torribio, MS. Corita, in his Breve y Summaria Relacion, illuſtrates and confirms ſeveral of Torribio's obſervations, to which he refers. MS. *penes me.*

NOTE LXIX. p. 348.

EVEN Monteſquieu has adopted this idea, lib. viii. c. 18. But the paſſion of that great man for ſyſtem, ſometimes rendered him inattentive to reſearch; and from his capacity to refine, he was apt, in ſome inſtances, to overlook obvious and juſt cauſes.

NOTE LXX. p. 349.

A Strong proof of this occurs in the teſtament of Iſabella, where ſhe diſcovers the moſt tender concern for the humane and mild uſage of the Indians. Thoſe laudable ſentiments of the queen have been adopted into

into the public law of Spain, and ſerve as the introduction to the regulations contained under the title *of the good treatment of the Indians.* Recopil. lib. vi. tit. x.

NOTE LXXI. p. 351.

IN the ſeventh *Title* of the firſt book of the *Recopilacion*, which contains the laws concerning the powers and functions of archbiſhops and biſhops, almoſt a third part of them relates to what is incumbent upon them, as guardians of the Indians, and points out the various methods in which it is their duty to interpoſe, in order to defend them from oppreſſion, either with reſpect to their perſon or property. Not only do the laws commit to them this honourable and humane office, but they actually exerciſe it.

INNUMERABLE proofs of this might be produced from Spaniſh authors. But I rather refer to Gage, as he was not diſpoſed to aſcribe any merit to the popiſh clergy, to which they were not fully entitled. Survey, p. 142, 192, &c. Henry Hawks, an Engliſh merchant, who reſided five years in New Spain, previous to the year 1572, gives the ſame favourable account of the popiſh clergy. Hakluyt, iii. 466. By a law of Charles V. not only biſhops, but other eccleſiaſtics, are impowered to inform and admoniſh the civil magiſtrates, if any Indian is deprived of his juſt liberty and rights. Recopilac. lib. vi. tit. vi. ley. 14; and thus were conſtituted legal protectors of the Indians. Some of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics refuſed to grant abſolution to ſuch of their countrymen as poſſeſſed *Encomiendas*, and conſidered the Indians as ſlaves, or employed them in working their mines. Gonz. Davil. Fiatro. Eccleſ. i. 157.

NOTE

NOTE LXXII. p. 351.

ACCORDING to Gage, Chiapa dos Indos contains 4000 families, and he mentions it only as one of the largeſt Indian towns in America. P. 104.

NOTE LXXIII. p. 351.

IT is very difficult to obtain an accurate account of the ſtate of population in thoſe kingdoms of Europe where the police is moſt perfect, and where ſcience has made the greateſt progreſs. In Spaniſh America, where knowledge is ſtill in its infancy, and few men have leiſure to engage in reſearches merely ſpeculative, little attention has been paid to this curious inquiry. But in the year 1741, Philip V. enjoined the viceroys and governors of the ſeveral provinces in America, to make an actual ſurvey of the people under their juriſdiction, and to tranſmit a report concerning their number and occupations. In conſequence of this order, the Conde de Fuen-Clara, viceroy of New Spain, appointed D. Joſ. Antonio de Villa-Segnor y Sanchez, to execute that commiſſion in New Spain. From the reports of the magiſtrates in the ſeveral diſtricts, as well as from his own obſervations, and long acquaintance with moſt of the provinces, Villa Segnor publiſhed the reſult of his inquiries in his *Theatro Americano*. His report, however, is imperfect. Of the nine dioceſes, into which the Mexican empire has been divided, he has publiſhed an account only of five, viz. the archbiſhopric of Mexico, the biſhoprics of Los Angeles, Mechoacan, Oaxaca, and Nova Galicia. The biſhoprics of Yucutan, Verapaz, Chiapa, and Guatimala, are entirely omitted, though the two latter comprehend countries, in which the Indian race is more numerous than in any part of New Spain. In his ſurvey of the extenſive dioceſe of Nova Galicia, the ſituation of the different Indian villages is deſcribed; but he ſpecifies the number of people only in a ſmall part of it. The Indians of that vaſt province,

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in which the Spaniſh dominion is imperfectly eſtabliſhed, are not regiſtered with the ſame accuracy as in other parts of New Spain. According to Villa Segnor, the actual ſtate of population in the five dioceſes above mentioned is, of Spaniards, negroes, mulattoes, and meſtizos, in the dioceſes of

	Families.
Mexico - -	105,202
Los Angeles - -	30,600
Mechoacan - -	30,840
Oaxaca - -	7,296
Nova Galicia - - -	16,770
	190,708
At the rate of five to a family, the total number is -	953,540

Indian families in the dioceſe of Mexico -	119,511
Los Angeles - - -	88,240
Mechoacan - - -	36,196
Oaxaca - - -	44,222
Nova Galicia - - -	6,222
	294,391

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 1,471,955. We may rely with greater certainty on this computation of the number of Indians, as it is taken from the *Matricula*, or regiſter, according to which the tribute paid by them is collected. As four dioceſes of nine are totally omitted, and in that of Nova Galicia the numbers are imperfectly recorded, we may conclude, that the number of Indians in the Mexican empire exceeds two millions.

The account of the number of Spaniards, &c. ſeems not to be equally complete. Of many places, Villa Segnor obſerves in general terms, that ſeveral Spaniards, negroes, and people of a mixed race, reſide

reſide there, without ſpecifying their number. If, therefore, we make allowance for theſe, and all who reſide in the four dioceſes omitted, the number of Spaniards, and of thoſe of a mixed race, may probably amount to a million and a half. In ſome places, Villa Segnor diſtinguiſhes between Spaniards and the three inferior races of negroes, Mulattos, and Meſtizos, and marks their numbers ſeparately. But he generally blends them together. But from the proportion obſervable in thoſe places, where the number of each is marked, as well as from the account of the ſtate of population in New Spain by other authors, it is manifeſt that the number of negroes and perſons of a mixed race far exceeds that of the Spaniards. Perhaps the latter ought not to be reckoned above 500,000 to a million of the former.

DEFECTIVE as this account may be, I have not been able to procure ſuch intelligence concerning the number of people in Peru, as might enable me to form any conjecture equally ſatisfying with reſpect to the degree of its population. I have been informed, that in the year 1761, the protector of the Indians in the vice-royalty of Peru computed that 612,780 paid tribute to the king. As all females, and perſons under age, are exempted from this tax in Peru, the total number of Indians ought, by that account, to be 2,449,120. MS. *penes me.*

I SHALL mention another mode, by which one may compute, or at leaſt form a gueſs concerning the ſtate of population in New Spain and Peru. According to an account which I have reaſon to conſider as accurate, the number of copies of the bull of Cruzada, exported to Peru on each new publication, is 1,171,953; to New Spain 2,649,326. I am informed, that but few Indians purchaſe bulls, and that they are ſold chiefly to the Spaniſh Inhabitants, and thoſe of mixed race; ſo that the number of Spaniards, and people of a mixed race, will amount, by this mode of computation, at leaſt to three millions.

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THE number of inhabitants in many of the towns in Spaniſh America, may give us ſome idea of the extent of population, and correct the inaccurate, but popular notion entertained in Great Britain, concerning the weak and deſolate ſtate of their colonies. The city of Mexico contains at leaſt 150,000 people. Los Angeles contains above 60,000 Spaniards, and people of a mixed race. Villa Segnor, p. 247. Guadalaxara contains above 30,000, excluſive of Indians. Ib. ii. 206. Lima contains 54,000. D. Coſme Bueno Deſcr. de Peru, 1764. Carthagena contains 25,000. Potoſi contains 25,000. Bueno, 1767. Popayan contains above 20,000. Ulloa, i. 287. Towns of a ſecond claſs are ſtill more numerous. The cities in the moſt thriving ſettlements of other European nations in America cannot be compared with theſe.

THESE are ſuch detached accounts of the number of people in ſeveral towns, as I found ſcattered in authors whom I thought worthy of credit. But I have obtained an enumeration of the inhabitants of the towns in the province of Quito, on the accuracy of which I can rely; and I communicate it to the Public, both to gratify curioſity, and to rectify the miſtaken notion which I have mentioned. St. Franciſco de Quito contains between 50 and 60,000 people of all the different races. Beſides the city, there are in the *Corregimiento* 29 curacies eſtabliſhed in the principal villages, each of which has ſmaller hamlets depending upon it. The inhabitants of theſe are moſtly Indians and Meſtizos. St. Juan de Paſto has between 6 and 8000 inhabitants, beſides 27 dependent villages. St. Miguel de Ibarra 7000 citizens, and ten villages. The diſtrict of Havala between 18 and 20,000 people. The diſtrict of Tacunna between 10 and 12,000. The diſtrict of Ambato between 8 and 10,000, beſides 16 depending villages. The city of Riobamba between 16 and 20,000 inhabitants, and 9 depending villages. The diſtrict of Chimbo between 6 and 8000. The city of Guaquil from 16 to 20,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. The diſtrict of Atuaſi between 5 and 6000, and 4 depending villages. The city of Cuenza between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants,

inhabitants, and 9 populous depending villages. The town of Laxa from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. This degree of population, though ſlender, if we conſider the vaſt extent of the country, is far beyond what is commonly ſuppoſed. I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, that Quito is the only province in Spaniſh America that can be denominated a manufacturing country; hats, cotton ſtuffs, and coarſe woollen cloths, are made there in ſuch quantities, as to be ſufficient not only for the conſumption of the province, but to furniſh a conſiderable article for exportation into other parts of Spaniſh America. I know not whether the uncommon induſtry of this province ſhould be conſidered as the cauſe or effect of its populouſneſs. But among the oſtentatious inhabitants of the New World, the paſſion for every thing that comes from Europe is ſo violent, that I am told the manufactures of Quito are ſo much undervalued, as to be on the decline.

NOTE LXXIV. p. 356.

THESE are eſtabliſhed at the following places: St. Domingo in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firmè, Santiago in Guatimala, Guadalaxara in New Galicia, Santo Fe in the New Kingdom of Granada, La Plata in the country of Los Charcas, St. Franciſco de Quito, St. Jago de Chili, Buenos Ayres. To each of theſe are ſubjected ſeveral large provinces, and ſome ſo far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their juriſdiction. The Spaniſh writers commonly reckon up twelve courts of Audience; but they include that of Manila in the Philippine Iſlands.

NOTE

NOTE LXXV. p. 362.

ON account of the diſtance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of ſuch bulk as wine and oil acroſs the iſthmus of Panama, the Spaniards in thoſe provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives. But they are ſtrictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to Panama, Guatimala, or any province in ſuch a ſituation as to receive it from Spain. Recop. lib. vi. tit. xviii. l. 15—18.

NOTE LXXVI. p. 363.

THIS computation was made by Benzoni, A. D. 1550, fifty-eight years after the diſcovery of America. Hiſt. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 21. But as Benzoni wrote with the ſpirit of a malcontent, diſpoſed to detract from the Spaniards in every particular, it is poſſible that his calculation may be too low.

NOTE LXXVII. p. 365.

MY information, with reſpect to the diviſion and tranſmiſſion of property in the Spaniſh colonies, is imperfect. The Spaniſh authors do not explain this fully, and have not perhaps attended ſufficiently to the effects of their own inſtitutions and laws. Solorzano de jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. ii. l. 16. explains in ſome meaſure the introduction of the tenure of *Mayoraſgo*, and mentions ſome of its effects. Villa Segnor takes notice of a ſingular conſequence of it. He obſerves, that in ſome of the beſt ſituations in the city of Mexico, a good deal of ground is unoccupied, or covered only with the ruins of the houſes once erected upon it; and adds, that as this ground is held by right of *Mayoraſgo*, and cannot be alienated, that deſolation and thoſe ruins become perpetual. Theatr. Amer. vol. i. p. 34.

NOTE LXXVIII. p. 366.

THERE is no law that excludes Creoles from offices either civil or eccleſiaſtic. On the contrary, there are many *Cedulas* which recommend the conferring places of truſt indiſcriminately on the natives of Spain and America. Betancurt y Figueroa Derecho, &c. p. 5, 6. But notwithſtanding ſuch repeated recommendations, preferment in almoſt every different line is conferred on native Spaniards. A remarkable proof of this is produced by the author laſt quoted. From the diſcovery of America to the year 1637, three hundred and ſixty-nine biſhops, or archbiſhops, had been appointed to the different dioceſes in that country, and of all that number only twelve were Creoles, p. 40.

NOTE LXXIX. p. 371.

MODERATE as this tribute may appear, ſuch is the extreme poverty of the Indians, in many provinces of America, that the exacting of it is intolerably oppreſſive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios, p. 192.

NOTE LXXX. p. 372.

IN New Spain, on account of the extraordinary merit and ſervices of the firſt conquerors, as well as the ſmall revenue ariſing from the country previous to the diſcovery of the mines of Sacatecas, the *encomiendas* were granted for three, and ſometimes for four lives. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. ii. c. 14, &c.

NOTE

NOTE LXXXI. p. 373.

D. Ant. Ulloa contends, that working in the mines is not noxious, and as a proof of this informs us, that many Meſtizos and Indians, who do not belong to any Repartimiento, voluntarily hire themſelves as miners; and ſeveral of the Indians, when the legal term of their ſervice expires, continue to work in the mines of choice. *Entreten.* p. 265. But his opinion concerning the wholeſomeneſs of this occupation is contrary to the experience of all ages; and wherever men are allured by high wages, they will engage in any ſpecies of labour, however fatiguing or pernicious it may be. D. Hern. Carillo Altemirano relates a curious fact incompatible with this opinion. Wherever mines are wrought, ſays he, the number of Indians decreaſes; but in the province of Campeachy, where there are no mines, the number of Indians has increaſed more than a third ſince the conqueſt of America, though neither the ſoil nor climate be ſo favourable as in Peru or Mexico. Colbert. Collect. In another memorial preſented to Philip III. in the year 1609, Captain Juan Gonzalez de Azevedo aſſerts, that in every diſtrict of Peru, where the Indians are compelled to labour in the mines, their numbers were reduced to the half, and in ſome places to the third of what it was under the vice-royalty of Don Fran. Toledo in 1581. Colb. Collect.

NOTE LXXXII. p. 373.

AS labour of this kind cannot be preſcribed with legal accuracy, the taſks ſeem to be in a great meaſure arbitrary, and like the ſervices exacted by feudal ſuperiors, in vinea, prato aut meſſe, from their vaſſals, are extremely burdenſome, and often wantonly oppreſſive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios.

NOTE LXXXIII. p. 373.

THE turn of ſervice known in Peru by the name of *Mita*, is called *Tanda* in New Spain. There it continues no longer than a week at a time. No perſon is called to ſerve at a greater diſtance from his habitation than 24 miles. This arrangement is leſs oppreſſive to the Indians than that eſtabliſhed in Peru. Memorial of Hern. Carillo Altamirano. Colbert. Collect.

NOTE LXXXIV. p. 375.

THE ſtrongeſt proof of this may be deduced from the laws themſelves. By the multitude and variety of regulations to prevent abuſes, we may form an idea of their number. Though the laws have, wiſely, provided that no Indian ſhall be obliged to ſerve in any mine at a greater diſtance from his place of reſidence than thirty miles, we are informed in a memorial of D. Hernan Carillo Altimirano, preſented to the king, that the Indians of Peru are often compelled to ſerve in mines at a diſtance of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred leagues from their habitation. Colbert Collect. Many mines are ſituated in parts of the country, ſo barren and ſo diſtant from the ordinary habitations of the Indians, that the neceſſity of procuring labourers to work there, has obliged the Spaniſh monarchs to diſpenſe with their own regulations in ſeveral inſtances, and to permit the vice-roys to compel the people of more remote provinces to reſort to thoſe mines. Eſcalona Gazophyl. Perub. lib. i. c. 16. But in juſtice to them it ſhould be obſerved, that they have been ſtudious to alleviate this oppreſſion as much as poſſible, by enjoining the viceroys to employ every method, in order to induce the Indians to ſettle in ſome part of the country adjacent to the mines. Id. ibid.

NOTE LXXXV. p. 379.

TORQUEMADA, after a long enumeration, which has the appearance of accuracy, concludes the number of monaſteries in New Spain to be four hundred. Mon. Ind. lib. xix. c. 32. The number of monaſteries in the city of Mexico alone was, in the year 1745, fifty-five. Villa-Segnor. Theat. Amer. i. 34. Ulloa reckons up forty convents in Lima; and mentioning thoſe for nuns, he ſays, that a ſmall town might be peopled out of them, the number of perſons ſhut up there is ſo great. Voy. i. 429. Philip III. in a letter to the viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1620, obſerves, that the number of convents in Lima was ſo great, that they covered more ground than all the reſt of the city. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23. n. 57. Lib. iii. c. 16. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 3. The firſt monaſtery in New Spain was founded, A. D. 1525, four years only after the conqueſt. Torq. lib. xv. c. 16.

ACCORDING to Gil Gonzalez Davila, the complete eſtabliſhment of the American church in all the Spaniſh ſettlements was, in the year 1649, 1 patriarch, 6 archbiſhops, 32 biſhops, 346 prebendaries, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, 840 convents. Teatro Eccleſiaſtico de las Ind. Occident. vol. i. Pref. When the order of Jeſuits was expelled from all the Spaniſh dominions, the colleges, *profeſſed* houſes, and reſidencies, which it poſſeſſed in the province of New Spain, were thirty, in Quito ſixteen, in the New Kingdom of Granada thirteen, in Peru ſeventeen, in Chili eighteen, in Paraguay eighteen, in all a hundred and twelve. Colleccion General de Providencias haſta acqui tomadas ſobre eſtranamento, &c. de la Compagnia, part i. p. 19. The number of Jeſuits, prieſts and novices in all theſe amounted to 2245. MS. *penes me.*

In the year 1644, the city of Mexico preſented a petition to the king, praying that no new monaſtery might be founded, and that the revenues of thoſe already eſtabliſhed might be circumſcribed, otherwiſe the religious houſes would ſoon acquire the property of the whole country. They requeſt likewiſe that the biſhops might be laid under reſtrictions in conferring holy orders, as there were at that time in New Spain above ſix thouſand clergymen without any living. Ib. p. 16. They muſt have been enormous abuſes indeed, when the ſuperſtition of American Spaniards was ſhocked, and induced to remonſtrate againſt them.

NOTE LXXXVI. p. 382.

This deſcription of the manners of the Spaniſh clergy, I ſhould not have ventured to give, upon the teſtimony of proteſtant authors alone, as they may be ſuſpected of prejudice or exaggeration. Gage, in particular, who had a better opportunity than any proteſtant, to view the interior ſtate of Spaniſh America; deſcribes the corruption of the church, which he had forſaken, with ſo much of the acrimony of a new convert, that I ſhould have diſtruſted his evidence, though it communicates ſome very curious and ſtriking facts. But Benzoni mentions the profligacy of eccleſiaſtics in America at a very early period after their ſettlement there. Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 19, 20. M. Frezier, an intelligent obſerver, and zealous for his own religion, paints the diſſolute manners of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics in Peru, particularly the regulars, in ſtronger colours than I have employed. Voy. p. 51. 215, &c. M. Gentil confirms this account. Voy. i. 34. Correal concurs with both, and adds many remarkable circumſtances. Voy. i. 61. 155. 161. I have good reaſon to believe, that the manners of the regular clergy, particularly in Peru, are ſtill extremely indecent. Acoſta himſelf acknowledges, that great corruption of manners had been the conſequence of permitting monks to forſake the retirement and

and diſcipline of the cloiſter, and to mingle again with the world, by undertaking the charge of the Indian pariſhes. De procur. Ind. Salute, lib. iv. c. 13, &c. He mentions particularly thoſe vices, of which I have taken notice, and conſiders the temptations to them as ſo formidable, that he leans to the opinion of thoſe who hold that the regular clergy ſhould not be employed as pariſh prieſts. Lib. v. c. 20. Even the advocates for the regulars admit, that many and great enormities abounded among the monks of different orders, when ſet free from the reſtraint of monaſtic diſcipline; and from the tone of their defence, one may conclude that the charge brought againſt them was not deſtitute of truth. In the French colonies, the ſtate of the regular clergy is nearly the ſame as in the Spaniſh ſettlements, and the ſame conſequences have followed. M. Biet, ſuperior of the ſecular prieſts in Cayenne, inquires, with no leſs piety than candour, into the cauſes of this corruption, and imputes it chiefly to the exemption of regulars from the juriſdiction and cenſures of their dioceſans; to the temptations to which they are expoſed; and to their engaging in commerce. Voy. p. 320. It is remarkable, that all the authors, who cenſure the licentiouſneſs of the Spaniſh regulars with greateſt ſeverity, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jeſuits. Formed under a diſcipline more perfect than that of the other monaſtic orders, or animated by that concern for the honour of the ſociety, which takes ſuch full poſſeſſion of every member, the Jeſuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, have maintained a moſt irreproachable decency of manners. Frezier, 223. Gentil, i. 34. The ſame praiſe is likewiſe due to the biſhops and moſt of the dignified clergy. Frez. ibid.

NOTE LXXXVII. p. 382.

SOLORZANO, after mentioning the corrupt morals of ſome of the regular clergy, with that cautious reſerve, which became a Spaniſh layman, in touching on a ſubject ſo delicate; gives his opinion very explicitly, and with much firmneſs, againſt committing parochial charges to monks. He produces the teſtimony of ſeveral reſpectable authors of his country, both divines and lawyers, in confirmation of his opinion. De Jure Ind. ii. lib. iii. c. 16. A ſtriking proof of the alarm excited by the attempt of the Prince d'Eſquilache to exclude the regulars from parochial cures, is contained in the Colbert collection of papers. Several memorials were preſented to the king by the procurators for the monaſtic orders, and replies were made to theſe in name of the ſecular clergy. An eager, and even rancorous, ſpirit is manifeſt on both ſides, in the conduct of this diſpute.

NOTE LXXXVIII. p. 386.

NOT only the native Indians, but the *Meſtizos*, or children of a Spaniard and Indian, were originally excluded from the prieſthood, and refuſed admiſſion into any religious order. But by a law iſſued Sept. 28th, 1588, Philip II. required the prelates of America to ordain ſuch meſtizos born in lawful wedlock, as they ſhould find to be properly qualified, and to permit them to take the vows in any monaſtery where they had gone through a regular noviciate. Recopil. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 7. Some regard ſeems to have been paid to this law in New Spain; but none in Peru. Upon a repreſentation of this to Charles II. in the year 1697, he iſſued a new edict, enforcing the obſervation of it, and profeſſing his deſire to have all his ſubjects, Indians and meſtizos, as well as Spaniards, admitted to the enjoyment of the ſame privileges. Such, however, was the averſion

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of the Spaniards in America to the Indians, and their race, that this ſeems to have produced little effect; for, in the year 1725, Philip V. was obliged to renew the injunction in a more peremptory tone. But ſo unſurmountable are the hatred and contempt of the Indians among the Peruvian Spaniards, that the preſent king has been conſtrained to enforce the former edicts anew by a law, publiſhed September 11, 1774. Real Cedula, MS. *penes me.*

NOTE LXXXIX. p. 389.

UZTARIZ, an accurate and cautious calculator, ſeems to admit, that the quantity of ſilver that does not pay duty may be ſtated thus high. According to Herrera, there was not above a third of what was extracted from Potoſi that paid the king's fifth. Dec. viii. lib. ii. c. 15. Solorzano aſſerts likewiſe, that the quantity of ſilver which is fraudulently circulated, is far greater than that which is regularly ſtamped, after paying the fifth. De Ind. jure, vol. ii. lib. v. p. 846.

NOTE XC. p. 392.

WHEN the mines of Potoſi were diſcovered in the year 1545, the veins were ſo near the ſurface, that the ore was eaſily extracted, and ſo rich, that it was refined with little trouble, and at ſmall expence, merely by the action of fire. This ſimple mode of refining by fuſion alone continued until the year 1574, when the uſe of mercury in refining ſilver, as well as gold, was diſcovered. Thoſe mines having been wrought without interruption for two centuries, the veins are now ſunk ſo deep, that the expence of extracting the ore is greatly increaſed. Beſides this, the richneſs of the ore, contrary to what happens in moſt other mines, has become leſs as the vein continued to dip, and has diminiſhed to ſuch a degree, that one is amazed that the Spaniards ſhould

perſiſt

perſiſt in working it. Other rich mines have been ſucceſſively diſcovered; but in general the value of the ores has decreaſed ſo much, while the expence of extracting them has augmented, that the court of Spain, in the year 1736, reduced the duty payable to the king from a *fifth* to a *tenth*. All the quickſilver uſed in Peru, is extracted from the famous mine of Gunacabelica, diſcovered in the year 1563. The crown has reſerved the property of this mine to itſelf; and the perſons who purchaſed the quickſilver, paid not only the price of it, but likewiſe a *fifth*, as a duty to the king. But, in the year 1761, this duty on quickſilver was aboliſhed, on account of the increaſe of expence in working mines. Ulloa, Entretenimientos, xii.—xv. Voyage, i. p. 505. 523. Any of my readers who are deſirous of being acquainted with the mode in which the Spaniards conduct the working of their mines, and the refinement of the ore, will find an accurate deſcription of it by Acoſta. Lib. iv. c. 1—13.

NOTE XCI. p. 393.

IN conſequence of this abolition of the *fifth*, and ſome ſubſequent abatements of price, which became neceſſary on account of the increaſing expence of working mines, quickſilver, which was formerly ſold at eighty peſos the quintal, is now delivered by the king at the rate of ſixty peſos. Campomanes Educ. Popul. ii. 132. Note. The duty on gold is reduced to a *twentieth*, or five per cent.

NOTE XCII. p. 395.

MANY remarkable proofs occur of the advanced ſtate of induſtry in Spain, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century. The number of cities in Spain was conſiderable, and they were peopled far beyond the proportion that was common in other parts of Europe. The cauſes of this, I have explained, Hiſt. of Cha. V. i. 158. Wherever cities are populous, that ſpecies of induſtry which is peculiar to them increaſes, artificers and manufacturers abound. The effect of the American

trade

trade in giving activity to theſe is manifeſt from a ſingular fact. In the year 1545, while Spain continued to depend on its own induſtry, for the ſupply of its colonies, ſo much work was beſpoke from the manufacturers, that it was ſuppoſed they could hardly finiſh it in leſs than ſix years. Campom. i. 406. Such a demand muſt have put much induſtry in motion, and have excited extraordinary efforts. Accordingly, we are informed, that in the beginning of Philip II's reign, the city of Seville alone, where the trade with America centered, gave employment to no fewer than 16,000 looms in ſilk or woollen work, and that above 130,000 perſons had occupation in carrying on theſe manufactures. Campom. ii. 472. But ſo rapid and pernicious was the operation of the cauſes which I ſhall enumerate, that before Philip III. ended his reign, the looms in Seville were reduced to 400. Uztariz, c. 7.

NOTE XCIII. p. 402.

NO bale of goods is ever opened, no cheſt of treaſure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the perſons to whom they belong; and only one inſtance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined ſilver which was brought from Peru to Portobello in the year 1654, was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of baſe metal. The Spaniſh merchants, with their uſual integrity, ſuſtained the whole loſs, and indemnified the foreigners, by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected, and the treaſurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt. B. Ulloa Retablif. de Manuf. &c. b. ii. p. 102.

NOTE XCIV. p. 406.

MANY ſtriking proofs occur of the ſcarcity of money in Spain. Of all the immenſe ſums which have been imported from America, the amount of which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention, Moncada aſſerts,

aſſerts, that there did not remain in Spain, in 1619, above two hundred millions of *peſos*, one half in coined money, the other in plate and jewels. Reſtaur. de Eſpagna, Diſc. iii. c. 1. Uztariz, who publiſhed his valuable work in 1724, contends, that in money, plate, and jewels, there did not remain a hundred millions. Theor. &c. c. 3. Campomanes, on the authority of a remonſtrance from the univerſity of Toledo to Philip III. relates, as a certain proof how ſcarce caſh had become, that perſons who lent money, received a third part of the ſum which they advanced, as intereſt and premium. Educ. popul. i. 417.

NOTE XCV. p. 409.

THE account of the mode in which the factors of the South Sea Company conducted the trade in the fair of Porto-bello, which was opened to them by the Aſſiento, I have taken from Don Alcedo y Herrera, preſident of the court of Audience in Quito, and governor of that province. Great credit is due to his teſtimony, as he was an eye-witneſs of the tranſactions which he relates, and often employed in detecting and authenticating the frauds which he deſcribes. It is probable, however, that his repreſentation being compoſed at the commencement of the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1739, may, in ſome inſtances, be exaggerated. His detail of facts is curious; and even Engliſh authors confirm it in ſome degree, by admitting both that various frauds were practiſed in the tranſactions of the annual ſhip, and that the contraband trade from Jamaica, and other Britiſh colonies, was become enormouſly great. But for the credit of the Engliſh nation it may be obſerved, that thoſe fraudulent operations are not to be conſidered as deeds of the Company, but as the diſhonourable arts of their factors and agents. The Company itſelf ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by the Aſſiento trade. Many of its ſervants acquired immenſe fortunes. Anderſon. Chronol. deduct. ii. 388.

NOTE

NOTE XCVI. p. 414.

SEVERAL facts, with reſpect to the inſtitution, the progreſs, and the effects, of this company, are curious, and but little known to Engliſh readers. Though the province of Venezuela, or Caraccas, extends four hundred miles along the coaſt, and is one of the moſt fertile in America; it was ſo much neglected by the Spaniards, that, during the twenty years prior to the eſtabliſhment of the company, only five ſhips ſailed from Spain to that province; and during ſixteen years, from 1706 to 1722, not a ſingle ſhip arrived from the Caraccas in Spain. Noticias de Real Compania de Caraccas, p. 28. During this period Spain muſt have been ſupplied almoſt entirely with the large quantity of cocoa, which it conſumes, by foreigners. Before the erection of the company, neither tobacco nor hides were imported from Caraccas into Spain. Id. p. 117. But ſince the commercial operations of the company began in the year 1731 the importation of cocoa into Spain has increaſed amazingly. During thirty years ſubſequent to 1701, the number of *fanegas* of cocoa (each a hundred and ten pounds) imported from Caraccas, was 643,215. During eighteen years ſubſequent to 1731, the number of *fanegas* imported was 869,247, and if we ſuppoſe the importation to be continued in the ſame proportion during the remainder of thirty years, it will amount to 1,448,746 *fanegas*, which is an increaſe of 805,531 *fanegas*. Id. p. 148. During eight years ſubſequent to 1756, there had been imported into Spain by the Company 88,482 *arrobas* (each twenty-five pound) of tobacco; and hides to the number of 177,354. Id. 161. Since the publication of the Noticias de Compania, in 1765, its trade ſeems to be on the increaſe. During five years ſubſequent to 1769, it has imported 179,156 *fanegas* of cocoa into Spain, 36,208 arrobas of tobacco, 75,496 hides, and 221,432 peſos in ſpecie. Campomanes, ii. 162. The laſt article is a proof of the growing wealth of the colony. It receives caſh from Mexico in return for the cocoa, with which it ſupplies

that

that province, and this it remits to Spain, or lays out in purchaſing European goods. But beſides this, the moſt explicit evidence is produced, that the quantity of cocoa raiſed in the province is double to what it yielded in 1731; the numoer of its live-ſtock is more than treble, and its inhabitants much augmented. The revenue of the biſhop, which ariſes wholly from tythes, has increaſed from eight to twenty thouſand peſos. Notic. p. 69. In conſequence of the augmentation of the quantity of cocoa imported into Spain, its price has decreaſed from eighty peſos for the *fanega* to forty. Id. 61.

NOTE XCVII. p. 419.

THIS firſt experiment made by Spain of opening a free trade with any of her colonies, has produced effects ſo remarkable, as to merit ſome farther illuſtration. The towns to which this liberty has been granted, are Cadiz and Seville, for the province of Andaluſia; Alicant and Carthagena, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelona, for Catalonia and Arragon; Santander, for Caſtile; Corugna, for Galicia; and Gijon, for Aſturias. Append. ii. a la Educ. Popul. p. 41. Theſe are either the ports of chief trade in their reſpective diſtricts, or thoſe moſt conveniently ſituated for the exportation of their reſpective productions. The following facts give a view of the increaſe of trade in the ſettlements to which the new regulations extend. Prior to the allowance of free trade, the duties collected in the cuſtom-houſe at the Havanna were computed to be 104,208 peſos annually. During the five years preceding 1774 they roſe at a medium to 308,000 peſos a year. In Yucatan, the duties have riſen from 8,000 to 15,000. In Hiſpaniola from 2,500 to 5,600. In Porto Rico from 1,200 to 7,000. The total value of goods imported from Cuba into Spain, was reckoned, in 1774, to be 1,500,000 peſos. Educ. Popul. i. 450, &c.

NOTE

NOTE XCVIII. p. 424.

THE two Treatiſes of Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, *Fiſcal del real conſejo y Supremo* (an office in rank and power nearly ſimilar to that of Attorney General in England), and Director of the Royal Academy of Hiſtory, the one intitled, Diſcurſo ſobre el Fomento de la Induſtria Popular; the other Diſcurſo ſobre la Educacion Popular de los Arteſanos y ſu Fomento; the former publiſhed in 1774, and the latter in 1775, afford a ſtriking proof of this. Almoſt every point of importance with reſpect to interior police, taxation, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, domeſtic as well as foreign, is examined in the courſe of theſe works; and there are not many authors, even in the nations moſt eminent for commercial knowledge, who have carried on their inquiries with more thorough knowledge of thoſe various ſubjects, and a more perfect freedom from vulgar and national prejudices, or who have united more happily the calm reſearches of philoſophy, with the ardent zeal of a public ſpirited citizen. Theſe books are in high eſtimation among the Spaniards; and it is a deciſive evidence of the progreſs of their own ideas, that they are capable of reliſhing an author whoſe ſentiments are ſo liberal.

NOTE XCIX. p. 428.

THE galeon employed in that trade, inſtead of the ſix hundred tons, to which it is limited by law, Recop. lib. xlv. l. 15. is commonly from twelve hundred to two thouſand tons burden. The ſhip from Acapulco, taken by Lord Anſon, inſtead of the 500,000 peſos permitted by law, had on board 1,313,843 peſos, beſides uncoined ſilver equal in value to 43,611 peſos more. Anſon's Voyage, 384.

NOTE

NOTE C. p. 430.

THE price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different perſons. Thoſe in the loweſt order, who are ſervants or ſlaves, pay two reals of plate, or one ſhilling; other Spaniards pay eight reals; and thoſe in public office, or who hold encomiendas, ſixteen reals. Solorz. de jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an Engliſh merchant who reſided long in the Spaniſh ſettlements, the bull of Cruzado, bore an higher price in the year 1570, being then ſold for four reals at the loweſt. Hakluyt, iii. 461. The price ſeems to have varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls iſſued in the laſt *Predicacion*, will appear from the enſuing table, which will give ſome idea of the proportional numbers of the different claſſes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There were iſſued for New Spain,

Bulls at	10 peſos each	4
at	2 peſos each	22,601
at	1 peſo each	164,220
at	2 reals each	2,462,500
		2,649,325

For Peru,

at	16 peſos 4 ½ reals each	
at	3 peſos, 3 reals each	14,202
at	1 peſo, 5 ½ reals	78,822
at	4 reals	410,325
at	3 reals	668,601
		1,171,953

NOTE

NOTE CI. p. 431.

AS Villa Segnor, to whom we are indebted for this information, was accomptant-general in one of the moſt conſiderable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had acceſs to proper information, his teſtimony with reſpect to this point merits great credit. No ſuch accurate detail of the Spaniſh revenues, in any part of America, has hitherto been publiſhed in the Engliſh language, and the particulars of it may appear curious and intereſting to ſome of my readers.

FROM the bull of Cruzada, publiſhed every two years, there ariſes an annual revenue in peſos 150,000

From the duty on ſilver	700,000
From ditto on gold	60,000
From tax on cards	70,000
From tax on Pulque, a drink uſed by the Indians	161,000
From tax on ſtamped paper	41,000
From ditto on ice	15,522
From ditto on leather	2,500
From ditto on gunpowder	71,550
From tax on ſalt	32,000
From ditto on copper of Mechoacan	1,000
From ditto on alum	6,500
From ditto on Juego de los Gallos	21,100
From the half of eccleſiaſtical annats	49,000
From royal ninth of biſhoprics, &c.	68,800
From the tribute of Indians	650,000
From Alcavala, or duty on ſale of goods	721,875
From the Almajorifaſgo, cuſtom-houſe	373,333
From the mint	357,500
	3,552,680

THIS

THIS ſum amounts to 819,161 l. Sterling, and if we add to it the profit accruing from the ſale of 5000 quintals of quickſilver, imported from the mines of Almaden, in Spain, on the king's account, and what accrues from the *Averia*, and ſome other taxes which Villa Segnor does not eſtimate, may well be reckoned above a million pounds ſterling money. Theat. Mex. vol. i. p. 38, &c. According to Villa Segnor, the total produce of the Mexican mines, amounts at a medium to eight millions of peſos in ſilver annually, and to 5912 marks of gold. Ib. p. 44. Several branches of the revenue have been explained in the courſe of the hiſtory; ſome, which there was no occaſion of mentioning, require a particular illuſtration. The right to the *tythes* in the New World is veſted in the crown of Spain, by a bull of Alexander VI. Charles V. appointed them to be applied in the following manner: One-fourth is allotted to the biſhop of the dioceſe, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral; the remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of theſe, under the denomination of *los dos novenos reales*, are paid to the crown, and conſtitute a branch of the royal revenue. The other ſeven parts are applied to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, the building and ſupport of churches, and other pious uſes. Recopil. lib. i. tit. xvi. Ley. 23, &c. Avendano Theſaur. Indic. vol. i. p. 184.

THE *Alcavala*, is a duty levied by an exciſe on the ſale of goods. In Spain it amounts to ten per cent. In America to four per cent. Solorzano Polit. Indiana, lib. vi. c. 8. Avendano, vol. i. 186.

THE *Almajorifaſgo*, or cuſtom paid in America on goods imported and exported, may amount on an average to fifteen per cent. Recopil. lib. viii. tit. xiv. Ley. 1. Avendano, vol. i. 188.

THE *Averia*, or tax paid on account of convoys to guard the ſhips ſailing to and from America, was firſt impoſed when Sir Francis Drake filled the New World with terror by his expedition into the South Sea. It amounts

amounts to 2 per cent. on the value of goods. Avendano, vol. i. p. 189. Recopil. lib. ix. tit. ix. Ley. 43, 44.

I HAVE not been able to procure any accurate detail of the ſeveral branches of revenue in Peru, later than the year 1614. From a curious manuſcript, containing a ſtate of that vice-royalty in all its departments, preſented to the Marquis of Montes-Claros, by Fran. Lopez Caravantes, accomptant-general in the tribunal of Lima, it appears, that the public revenue, as nearly as I can compute the value of the money in which Caravantes ſtates his accounts, that the revenue collected, amounted

in ducats, at 4s. 11d. to	-	2,372,768
Expences of government	-	1,242,992
Net free revenue		1,129,776

The total in ſterling money	-	£. 583,303
Expences of government	-	305,568
Net free revenue		277,735

BUT ſeveral articles appear to be omitted in this computation, ſuch as the duty on ſtamped paper, leather, eccleſiaſtical annats, &c. ſo that the revenue of Peru may be well ſuppoſed equal to that of Mexico.

IN computing the expence of government in New Spain, I may take that of Peru as a ſtandard. There the annual eſtabliſhment for defraying the charge of adminiſtration, exceeds one half of the revenue collected; and there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing it to be leſs in New Spain.

I HAVE obtained a calculation of the total amount of the public revenue of Spain from America and the Philippines,

Philippines, which, as the reader will perceive from the two laſt articles, is more recent than any of the former.

Alcavalas (Exciſe) and Aduanas peſos fuertes (Cuſtoms), &c. -	2,500,000
Duties on gold and ſilver - -	3,000,000
Duty on coinage of, at the rate of one real de la Plata for each mark -	300,000
Bull of Cruzada - -	1,000,000
Tribute of the Indians -	2,000,000
By ſale of quickſilver - -	300,000
Paper exported on the king's account, and ſold in the royal warehouſes	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other ſmall duties - -	1,000,000
From the trade of Acapulco, and the coaſting trade from province to province - - -	500,000
Aſſiento of negroes - - -	200,000
From the trade of *Mathe*, or herb of Paraguay, formerly monopolized by the Jeſuits - -	500,000
From other revenues formerly belonging to that order - -	400,000
Total	12,000,000
Total in ſterling money	2,000,000
Deduce half, as the expence of adminiſtration, and there remains net free revenue - - - -	1,350,000

NOTE CII. p. 431.

AN author, long converſant in commercial ſpeculation, has computed that from the mines of New Spain alone, the king receives annually, as his fifth, the ſum of two millions of our money. Harris Collect. of Voy. ii. p. 164. According to this calculation, the total produce of the mines muſt be ten millions ſterling; a ſum ſo exorbitant,

exorbitant, and ſo little correſponding with all accounts of the annual importation from America, that the information on which it is founded muſt evidently be erroneous. According to Campomanes, the total product of the American mines may be computed at thirty millions of peſos, which, at four ſhillings and ſix pence a peſo, amounts to 7,425,000 l. ſterling, the king's fifth of which (if that were regularly paid) would be 1,485,000 l. But from this ſum the expence of adminiſtration is to be deducted, which is very conſiderable, as appears from the preceding note. Educ. Popular, vol. ii. p. 131. note.

NOTE CIII. p. 431.

ACCORDING to Bern. de Ulloa, all foreign goods exported from Spain to America pay duties of various kinds, amounting in all to more than 25 *per cent.* As moſt of the goods with which Spain ſupplies her colonies are foreign; ſuch a tax upon a trade ſo extenſive muſt yield a conſiderable revenue. Retabliſ. de Manuf. & du Commerce d'Eſp. p. 150. He computes the value of goods exported annually from Spain to America, to be about two millions and a half ſterling, p. 97.

NOTE CIV. p. 433.

THE Marquis de Serralvo, according to Gage, by a monopoly of ſalt, and by embarking deeply in the Manilla trade as well as in that to Spain, gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchaſe from the Conde Olivares, and his creatures, a prolongation of his government, p. 61. He was ſucceſsful in his ſuit, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, double the uſual time.

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

What is contained in the LETTER ſent to the EMPEROR, mentioned Preface, p. xi.

THIS letter is dated July 6th, 1519. Cortes, in his ſecond diſpatch, takes notice that it was ſent off on the 16th of July.

THE great object of the perſons who wrote this letter, is to juſtify their own conduct in eſtabliſhing a colony independent on the juriſdiction of Velaſquez. With this view they endeavour to detract from his merit, in fitting out the two former armaments under Cordova and Grijalva, repreſenting theſe as equipped by the adventurers who engaged in the expedition, not by the governor. They labour likewiſe to depreciate the ſervices, of Cordova and Grijalva, in order to exalt the merit of their own exploits.

THEY contend, that the ſole object of Velaſquez was to trade or barter with the natives, not to attempt the conqueſt of New Spain, or the eſtabliſhment of a colony there. This is frequently mentioned by B. Diaz del Caſtillo, c. 19, 41, 42, &c. But if Velaſquez had not conqueſt and ſettlement in view, there ſeems to have been no reaſon for equipping ſuch a conſiderable armament.

THEY aſſert, that Cortes defrayed the greateſt part of the expence of fitting out the armament. But this does not agree with the account of his ſlender fortune given by Gomara, Cron. c. 7. and B. Diaz, c. 20, or what I have mentioned Note iii. vol. ii.

THEY take notice, that though conſiderable numbers were wounded in their different encounters with the people of Tabaſco, not one of them died, and all recovered in a ſhort time. This ſeems to confirm what I have obſerved, vol. ii. p. 39, concerning the imperfection of the offenſive weapons of the Americans.

THEY give ſome account of the manners and inſtitutions of the Mexicans. It is very ſhort, and as they had reſided but a ſhort time in the country, and had but little intercourſe with the natives, it is both defective and inaccurate. They deſcribe minutely, and with great horror, the human ſacrifices offered by the Mexicans to their deities, and affirm that ſome of their number were eye-witneſſes of thoſe barbarous rites.

THEY ſubjoin to their letter a catalogue and deſcription of the preſents ſent to the emperor. That publiſhed by Gomara, Cron. c. 29. ſeems to have been copied from it, and Pet. Martyr deſcribes many of the articles in his treatiſe De Inſulis nuper inventis, p. 354, &c.

A CATA-

A

CATALOGUE

OF

SPANISH Books and Manuſcripts.

A

ACARETE de Biſcay, Relation des Voyages dans la Riviere de la Plata, & dela par Terre au Perou. Exſtat. Recueil de Thevenot, Part. IV.

———— A Voyage up the River de la Plata, and thence by Land to Peru, 8vo. London, 1698.

Acoſta (Joſeph de) Hiſtoire Naturelle & Moral des Indes tant Orientales qu' Occidentales, 8vo. Paris, 1600.

———— Novi Orbis Hiſtoria Naturalis & Moralis. Exſt. in Collect. Theod. de Bry, Pars IX.

———— De Natura Novi Orbis, Libri duo, & de procuranda Indorum Salute, Libri ſex, Salmant, 8vo. 1589.

———— (Chriſtov.) Tratado de las Drogas y Medecinas de las Indias Occidentales, con ſus Plantas Dibuxadas al vivo, 4to. Burgos, 1578.

Acugna (P. Chriſtoph.) Relation de la Riviere des Amazones, 12mo. Tom. ii. Paris, 1682.

———— A Relation of the great River of the Amazones, in South America, 8vo. Lond. 1698.

Alarchon (Fern.) Navigatione a Scoprere il Regno di ſette Citta. Ramuſio, III. 363.

Albuquerque Coello (Duarte de) Memorial de Artes de la Guerra del Braſil, 4to. Mad. 1634.

Alcafarado

Alcafarado (Franc.) An Hiſtorical Relation of the Diſcovery of the Iſle of Madeira, 4to. Lond. 1675.

Alcedo y Herrera (D. Dionyſio de) Aviſo Hiſtorico-Politico-Geografico, con las Noticias mas particulares, del Peru, Tierra Firme, Chili, y nuevo Reyno de Granada, 4to. Mad. 1740.

——— Compendio Hiſtorico de la Provincia y Puerto de Guayaquil, 4to. Mad. 1741.

Aldama y Guevara (D. Jos. Auguſtin de) Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, 12mo. Mexico, 1754.

Alvarado (Pedro de) dos Relaciones a Hern. Cortes Referiendole ſus Expediciones y Conquiſtas en varias Provincias de N. Eſpagna. Exſt. Barcia Hiſtoriad. Primit. tom. i.

——— Lettere due, &c. Exiſt. Ramuſ. III. 296.

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